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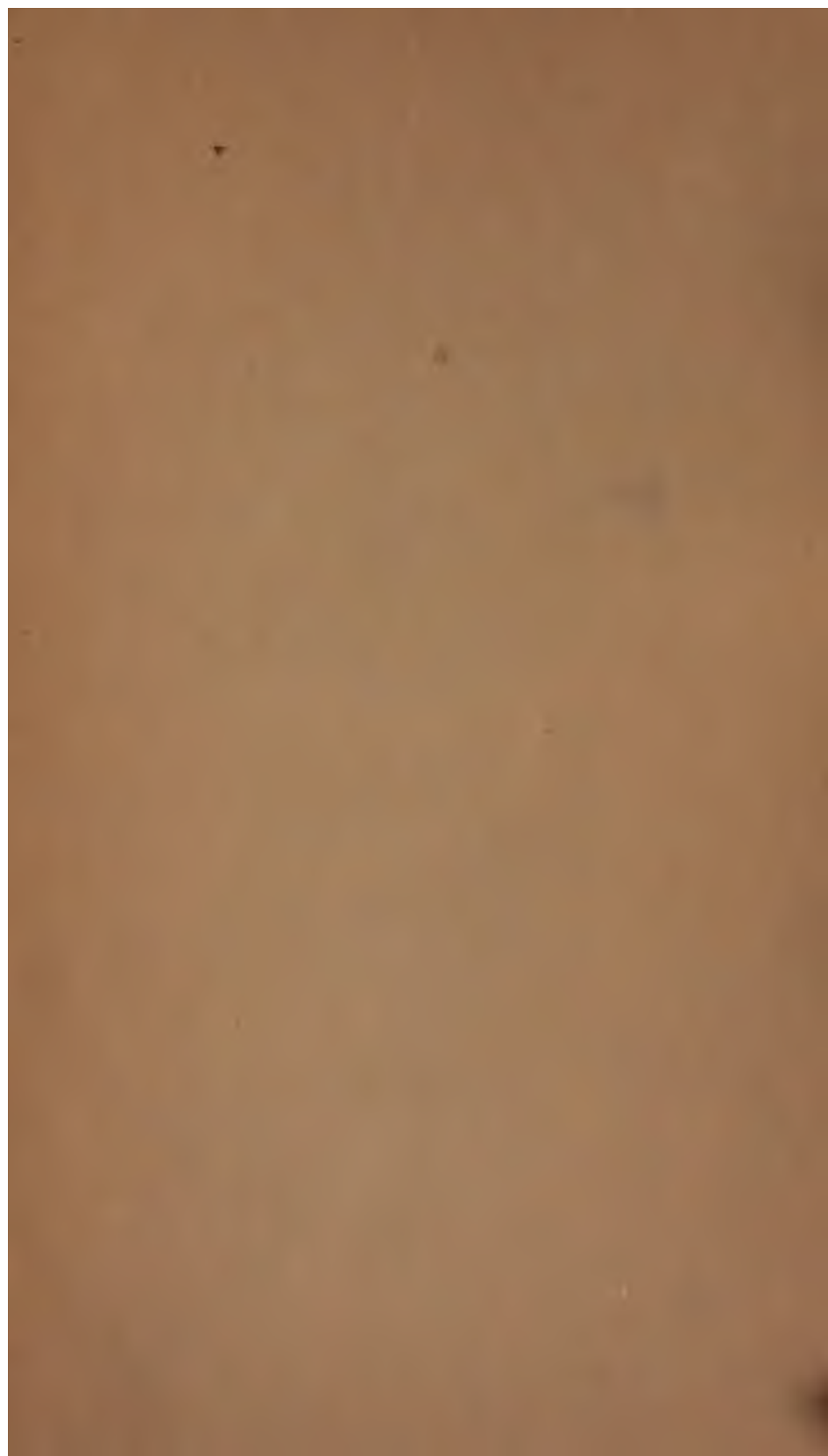
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Harvard College Library

FROM

*H. W. Longfellow,*  
*Professor in Harvard*  
*University.*











গুলীনা ৭১

KOSSUTH'S SPEECH.

Gentleman:—I beg leave to express to you my

most cordial thanks for the communication of these, your views and principles. Having the honor to be in the capital of the United States, where are assembled those whom the people have chosen to execute its will in the legislative and executive branches of the government, I can have no other mission or purpose than only to get a knowledge of what is the decision of the United States, as expressed by Congress and the government, and to acknowledge the high benefit I have received by having been welcomed in the name of the nation, by those most high authorities, to receive the most precious benefit; and

benefit; and your nation the duty to according to or an unpermitted. The name equiv- I was occurred on



## Contents! -

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WELCOME TO KOSSUTH.

**S P E E C H E S**

**OF**

*Henry*  
**WILLIAM H. SEWARD,**

**ON THE**

**JOINT RESOLUTION IN HONOR OF LOUIS KOSSUTH.**

**DELIVERED**

**IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.**

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**3<sup>+</sup> WASHINGTON:**

**PRINTED AT THE CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE OFFICE.  
1851.**

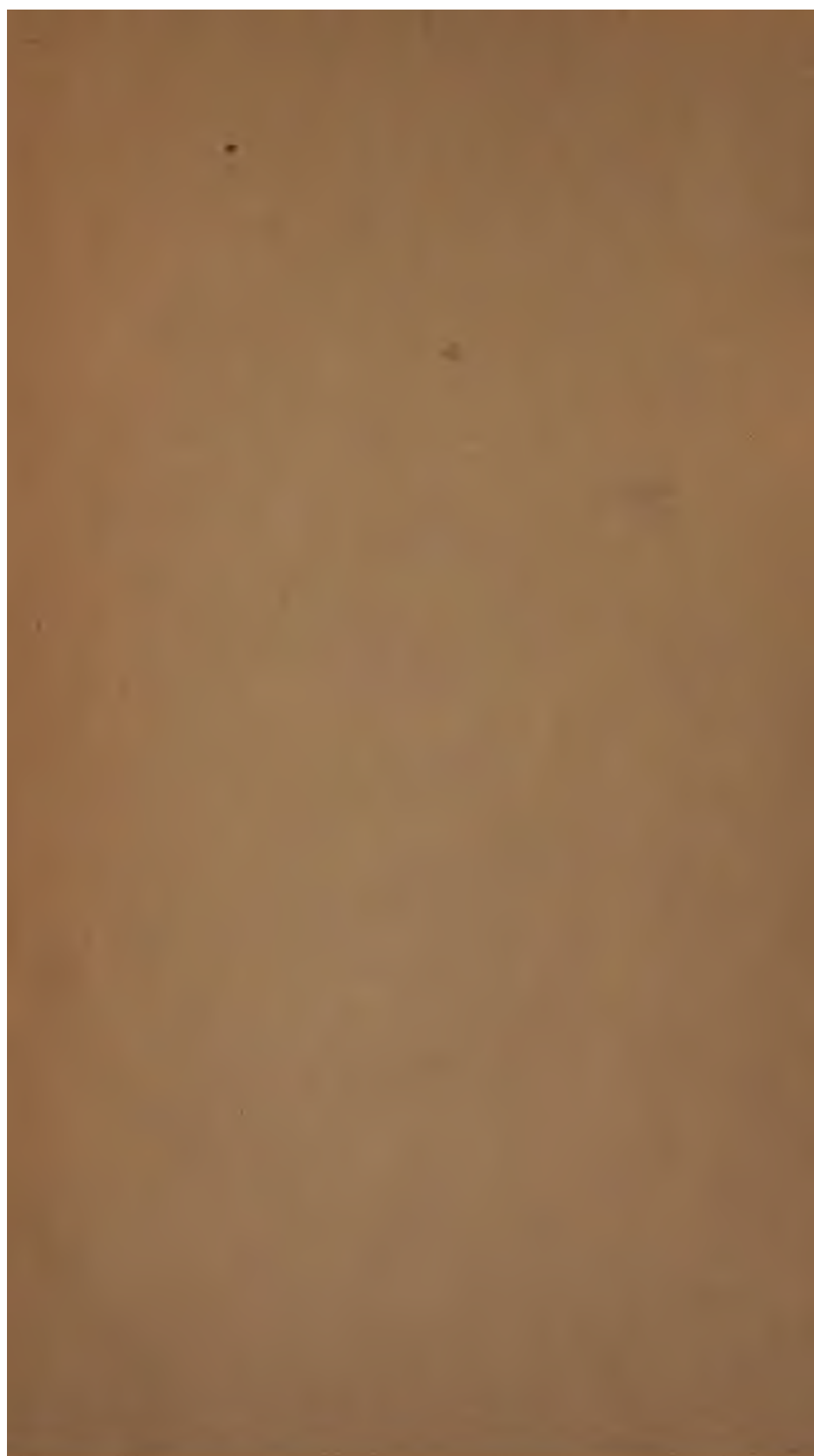
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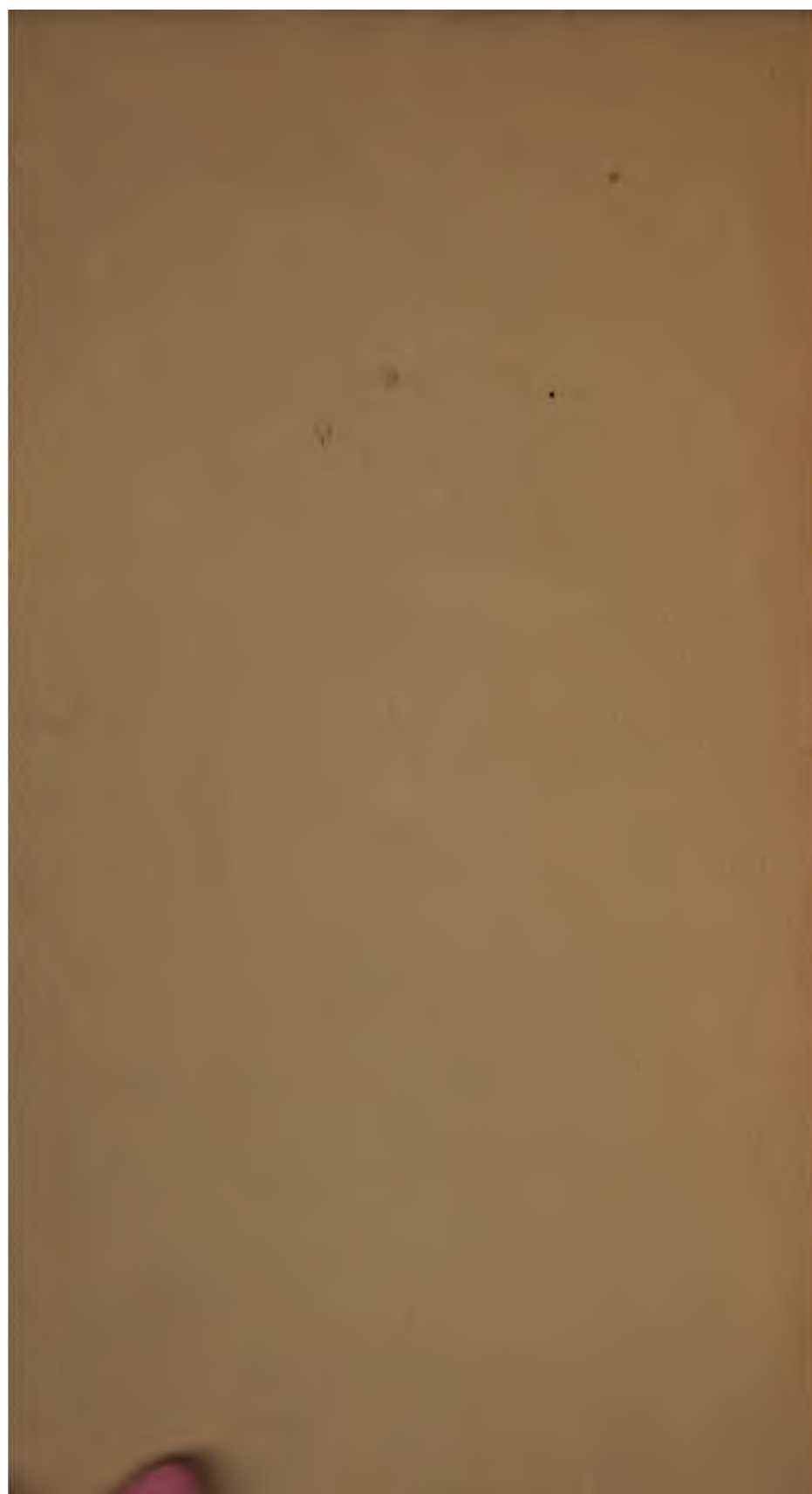


Harvard College Library

FROM

*H. W. Longfellow,*  
*Professor in Harvard*  
*University.*











The Jackson Democratic Association of Washington, yesterday waited on Governor Kossuth, with an address, delivered by Mr. J. D. Hoover, in which the doctrine of non-intervention, as held by Kossuth, was recognized. Governor Kossuth replied in the following terms:

Gentlemen:—I beg leave to express to you my most cordial thanks for the communication of these, your views and principles. Having the honor to be in the capital of the United States, where are assembled those whom the people have chosen to execute its will in the legislative and executive branches of the government, I can have no other mission or purpose than only to get a knowledge of what is the decision of the United States, as expressed by Congress and the government, and to acknowledge the high benefit I have received by having been welcomed in the name of the nation, by those very high authorities to whom I am indebted for the benefit; and

the time of the nation by the first of the  
ties to liberty. (S) He is respected  
France respects foreign nationalities  
able, dignified and senseless. The fifth clause of the  
set to work to defeat it by a policy equally  
can understand, all were odious to them, and they  
popular suffering, electric chain, manageable, depend  
deeply grounded. The whole thing, good and branch  
of the Assembly to the constitution was much more  
and satisfy that body. On the other hand, the enemy  
the Assembly, and his first line of policy was to court  
The power, however, of giving that revision, lay with  
might be obtained as would remove that difficulty.  
term, and it was not impossible that such a revision  
led to that clause in it which denied him a second  
range; his dislike of the constitution was mainly him-  
President was strong in his hold on the popular im-  
degree of their hostility were very different. The  
occure. But though both President and Assembly  
carry out the charter. Neither of these was likely to  
of his term, or that the majority submit to be superseded at the end  
easily and manfully submit to be superseded at the end  
of two things: either that the President should not  
tution within the terms of the constitution, unless so-  
There was no hope for a satisfactory and peaceful  
form of government that they hated and despised.  
years, an office which, if possible, he was determined  
to retain. The Assembly were elected to support a  
dent was required to lay down, at the end of three  
Everybody was thus in a false position. The Pres-  
that he was destined to rule France.  
and given the best possible proof of his conviction  
acts of recklessness during a revolution and a foreign  
sive; he had always expressed the belief, and by  
desperate, his habits and tastes inluxurious and expen-  
of antagonism to the constitution. His fortunes were  
President was soon found to be in the same position  
united in one settled scheme of hostility to the insti-  
enthusiasm legitimizers, like Berryer, were all entirely  
fanatics, like Falloux and Montalembert; party of  
mentiments, like Thiers and Mole; party of rapid  
formed party of old monarchists and purchased par-  
less before the old phalanx of the Right, which,  
But both and all these parties together, were power-  
smaller squads, of different shades of liberal opinion.  
Beaumonts, Laboulayes, Trays. There were other  
lent and upright men of France—the Tocquevilles,  
their education, were found some of the most excel-  
of moderate constitutionalists, among whom, true to  
was also a party, of which Chaignac was the leader,  
publicans in name, and socialists in theory; there  
There was, it is true, a fraction of the Left, hence re-  
a large majority with the most reactionary leadership  
in this country, was elected an Assembly, imbued by  
popular suffering, of which we understand something  
him, by one of those curious freaks of the exercise of  
pollen was elected by an enormous majority. But with  
the man whose spirit yet reigns in France, Louis Na-

publication, that the profits may enure to himself. It is difficult to say which of these reasons, under the circumstances, would be most discreditable to a person of Mr. Webster's eminence and pretensions.



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**2\*  
WASHINGTON:**

**PRINTED AT THE CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE OFFICE.**

**1851.**



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1852, June 11.

Gift of  
H. W. Longfellow,  
Prof. in Harv. Univ.

## SPEECHES.

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, *December 9, 1851.*

The following Joint Resolution was under consideration :

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled,* That the Congress of the United States, in the name and behalf of the People of the United States, give to Louis Kossuth a cordial welcome to the capital and to the country; and that a copy of this Resolution be transmitted to him by the President of the United States.

Mr. SEWARD opened the debate as follows:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I have said that I should refrain from discussing this question on its merits at the present time. I will first advert simply to the circumstances under which it comes before Congress. If the distinguished personage whom it is the design of this resolution to honor, had floated upon our shores unbidden and unheralded, there would have been no great embarrassment in suffering his arrival to pass without notice by Congress; but the case is widely different. The Congress of the United States found him a prisoner in Asia Minor—an exile from his native land, in an effort for the redemption of which he had fallen. They required the President of the United States to express to him the sympathy of Congress with him in his exile and misfortunes, and to tender to him an invitation to come to America as an asylum, in one of the public vessels of the nation. The President executed these instructions, and in pursuance of them, it is known to all the world that Kossuth was liberated from his captivity, and that he is now upon our shores. The President of the United States, in anticipation of his arrival, informed Congress on their assembling at the present session that he had executed their instructions, and that the arrival of this illustrious man was hourly expected, and recommended to us to take into consideration the proper manner and ceremonial of receiving the guest who had been brought here under their authority. This of itself was sufficient to engage the attention of the civilized world for the action of Congress in relation to the personage whose name and fame filled the eye and ear of the













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WELCOME TO KOSSUTH.

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<sup>3+</sup>  
**WASHINGTON:**

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he comes to thank you and decline the courtesy, than if he had accepted it and had become a perpetual charge upon your hospitalities? You say that the honors to Kossuth 'were moved in your Senate by ambitious aspirants for place and distinction.' Has, then, my country degenerated so much that there are no true, genuine patriots in the Senate of the United States who could lead that illustrious body in the discharge of so great a national obligation?

You plead that the Hungarian chief 'was a noble by birth, an aristocrat by education and association, and that he had devoted himself in an effort not to disseminate the spirit of universal liberty, but to fortify the privileges of the Magyar race?' If that be so, did you not know it when you invited him? If you did not, how can you justify your ignorance of a character that was blazoned to the world? But it is not true. Kossuth's first public action in early youth, was an effort, through the Hungarian Diet, to extend equal privileges of representation, of suffrage, and of taxation to all the people of Hungary, without distinction of rank, or cast, or race. For his fidelity to the great cause of human equality and freedom he was imprisoned three long years in a dungeon in the castle of Buda by the hand of the Austrian despot. When he came out from that captivity, he commenced that career of agitation for the restoration of the constitution of his country, which ended with success in the year 1848. When he had wrung that charter from the Emperor of Austria, his constitutional king, the first exercise of Hungarian authority by the Legislature which he directed, was an act which abolished all the feudal tenures, that brought land within the reach of all, and put the Croat, the Waldachian, the Illyrian, the Jew, and the Magyar upon the same platform of equality before the law, equality before the government, equality in representation, equality in suffrage, and equality in enduring the burdens of government. It was for this that he was hunted from his native land and came an exile to your shores. Who pursued him there with reproaches of falsehood to freedom? Not the Jew, the Croat, or the Slave, but the tyrant of Austria, who has reduced all the people of Hungary, of whatever rank or race or cast, to the level of slaves.

You say that you were willing to give Kossuth a welcome, but that he demanded more. How did you know that he 'demanded more?' How did you learn that Kossuth demanded more than a cordial welcome? Where did he ask of you even so much as a welcome? Was it in your capital? To whom did he address his extravagant and offensive reclamation? Was it to your President? to your Ministry? to your Congress? No; all alike refused to receive him, refused even to hear him speak, and yet you say he demanded too much. You closed his mouth before he had time to tell you what he thought, and what he wanted, or whether he wanted anything. But you reply, he was overheard to say that he expected arms, men, money, 'material aid, and intervention.' Overheard? What! did you deliver Kossuth from Russian surveillance in Turkey to establish an espionage over him of your own? Shame! shame to the country that so lightly regards the sanctity of the character of a stranger and an exile! But you say that he would have demanded *intervention*. Suppose he should? Would you have been less able to have met that unreasonable demand after having accorded to him the

exact justice which was his due, than you are now when you have done him injustice, and thus clothed him with the sympathies of your people and of mankind? But you aver that he spoke irreverently of your authority: he was overheard to say, in the outgushing of his gratitude to the generous people who received him on Staten Island, that the people were the sovereigns of the government of the United States, and you cannot pardon that offence. What if he did say that? Are not the people the sovereigns of the Government of the United States? Which one of your Senators or Representatives dare deny in his place that the People are his sovereigns?

But you say that you had a precedent; that you once took offence at a Minister of France who assumed the same position. You refer to Genet. But there is no parallel. Genet was a minister of a Government actually hostile, almost belligerent. He was in negotiation, and his demands were denied. He took an appeal from the decision of your Government to the people. But Kossuth is no minister. He is your guest. He went to you not to negotiate, or to demand a right. He went by your invitation to enjoy your hospitalities. You have decided nothing against him. He has submitted no appeal. I do not say that you ought to have granted intervention had it been demanded. But I do say this, that the Hungarian would have demanded no more of you than, in a strait less severe than his, I solicited and obtained for the United States of America from the Bourbon of France. Could you not have pardoned him for asking what you had once asked and obtained for yourselves? Was it so great a fault in him to suppose that now, in the day of your greatness, prosperity, and power, you might not be unwilling to do for Hungary what, in the day of your infancy, poverty, and weakness, France had done for yourselves? You say you stand upon precedent. Precedent? By whom established? By yourselves. Was Hungary concluded by such a precedent? And what precedent? The precedent of the reception giving to Lafayette? Was not even that reception grudgingly given by the Congress of the United States? If the ashes of Lafayette could be reanimated, and he could present himself again upon your shores, would you not now willingly accord him a greater than the welcome he before received at your hands?—a welcome, such as it was proposed to give to Kossuth? Wherein does the parallel between Kossuth and Lafayette fail? Lafayette began his career as a soldier of Liberty in the cause of your country; but he pursued it through life in an effort to establish a republic in his own beloved land. Kossuth found the duty which first devolved upon him was to wage a struggle for freedom in his own country. When overborne there, he became, like Lafayette, a champion of liberty throughout the world. You say that the Russian might have taken offence. Is America, then, brought so low that she fears to give offence when commanded by the laws of nature and of nations? What right had Russia to prescribe whom you should receive and whom reject from your hospitalities? Let no such humiliation be confessed."

Thus in the tribunal of the public opinion of mankind, all our pleas are disallowed. We have exposed ourselves to the *censure*—I will not say to the *derision*, of the world.



It is said, Mr. President, that there is danger of intervention if we accord these honors; that intervention will follow them. No, sir; it is not a question of intervention future, but of intervention past! There has been intervention already. Russia has intervened, and Hungary has fallen by that crime. Kossuth is an exile upon our shores in consequence of it. What we have done already, was by manifesting our sympathy for him, to express our abhorrence of the intervention of Russia, which has worked so great injustice, and to rebuke and prevent such intervention hereafter. What do we now propose to do? To grant a welcome to Kossuth. It is but the fit conclusion of an action already near complete. I greatly fear that we do not understand our own interests in this great question. We cannot extinguish sympathy for freedom elsewhere, without extinguishing the spirit of freedom which is the life of our own Republic.

Again, sir, you may reject Kossuth; you may, if you please, propitiate despotic favor by trampling the exiles of all Europe under your feet. But what will you have gained? This Republic is, and forever must be, a living offence to Russia and to Austria, and to despotic Powers everywhere. You will never, by whatever humiliations, gain one friend or secure one ally in Europe or America that wears a crown. It is clear that the days of despotism are numbered. We do not know whether its end is to come this year, or next year, or the year after; in this quarter of a century or in this half of a century. But there is to come, sooner or later, a struggle between the representative and the arbitrary systems of government. Europe is the field on which that struggle must take place. While the representative principle is gaining strength among the people, the power of Russia is seen to culminate. That struggle will be between Russia, whose power extends across the whole northern part of the Eastern Hemisphere, and all the people of southern and western Europe. If the Russian Autocrat prevail in that contest, we shall be left without friends or allies in the Eastern World. Is it wise to deny ourselves the benefits of alliances with States kindred in political interests and constitutions? Far otherwise; true wisdom dictates that we lend to European nations, struggling for civil liberty, all possible moral aid to sustain them until they can mature and perfect their strength for that great conflict, through which they are doomed to pass. The nations that we thus lawfully aid to raise up, will constitute a lasting and impregnable bulwark for ourselves.

The joint resolution was then ordered to a third reading, by the following vote:

**YEAS**—Messrs. Bradbury, Bright, Brodhead, Cass, Chase, Clarke, Davis, Dodge of Wisconsin, Douglas, Downs, Felch, Fish, Foot of Vermont, Foote of Mississippi, Gwin, Hamlin, Hunter, James, Jones of Iowa, King, Mallory, Miller, Norris, Rhett, Seward, Shields, Smith, Spruance, Stockton, Sumner, Wade, Walker, and Whitcomb—33.

**NAYS**—Messrs. Badger, Borland, Clemens, Dawson, Morton, and Underwood—6.

The resolution was then read a third time and passed.











1851.

Made in the Senate of the United States, December 10, 1851.

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1851.

The gift of L. A. Allen.

Nov. Dec. 27. 1851

## S P E E C H .

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Mr. SEWARD, of New York, brought forward in the Senate the following joint resolution :

*"Be it Resolved, &c., That Congress, in the name and behalf of the people of the United States, give to Louis Kossuth a cordial welcome to the capital and to the country, and that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to him by the President of the United States."*

December 9th, Mr. BERRIEN, of Georgia, addressed the Senate at length in opposition to any action by Congress, and, in closing his speech, moved the following amendment:

*"And be it further Resolved, That the welcome thus afforded to Louis Kossuth be extended to his associates who have landed on our shores; but while welcoming these Hungarian patriots to an asylum in our country, and to the protection which our laws do and always will afford to them, it is due to candor to declare that it is not the purpose of Congress to depart from the settled policy of this Government, which forbids all interference with the domestic concerns of other nations."*

December 10th, on motion of Mr. SEWARD, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the special order, being his resolution of welcome to Kossuth.

Mr. SUMNER then addressed the Senate as follows :

MR. PRESIDENT : Words are sometimes things ; and I cannot disguise from myself that the resolution in honor of Louis Kossuth, now pending before the Senate, when finally passed, will be an act of no small significance in the history of our country. The Senator from Georgia [Mr. BERRIEN] was right when he said that it was no unmeaning compliment. Beyond its immediate welcome to an illustrious stranger, it will help to combine and direct the sentiments of our own people everywhere ; it will inspire all in other lands who are engaged in the contest for freedom ; it will challenge the disturbed attention of despots ; and it will become a precedent whose importance will grow, in the thick-coming events of the future, with the growing might of the Republic. In this view, it becomes us to consider well what we do, and to understand the grounds of our conduct.

For myself, I am prepared to vote for it without amendment or condition of any kind, and on reasons which seem to me at

once obvious and conclusive. In assigning these, I shall be brief; and let me say that, novice as I am in this hall, and, indeed, in all legislative halls, nothing but my strong interest in the question as now presented, and a hope to say something directly upon it, could prompt me thus early to mingle in these debates.

The case seems to require a statement, rather than an argument. As I understand, the last Congress requested the President to authorize the employment of one of our public vessels to receive and convey Louis Kossuth to the United States. That honorable service was performed, under the express direction of the President, and in pursuance of the vote of Congress, by one of the best-appointed ships of our navy—the steam-frigate Mississippi. Far away from our country, in foreign waters, in the currents of the Bosphorus, the Hungarian chief, passing from his Turkish exile, first pressed the deck of this gallant vessel; first came under the protection of our national flag; and, for the first time in his life, rested beneath the ensign of an unquestioned Republic. From that moment he became our guest. The Republic—which, thus far, he had seen only in delighted dream or vision—was now his host; and though this relation was interrupted for a few weeks by his wise and brilliant visit to England, yet its duties and its pleasures, as I confidently submit, are not yet ended. The liberated exile is now at our gates. Sir, we cannot do things by halves; and the hospitality thus, under the auspices of Congress, begun, must, under the auspices of Congress, be continued. The hearts of the people are already open to receive him; Congress cannot turn its back upon him.

But I would join in this welcome, not merely because it is essential to complete and crown the work of the last Congress, but because our guest deserves it at our hands. The distinction is great, I know; but is not so great as his deserts. He deserves it as the early, constant, and incorruptible champion of the Liberal Cause in Hungary, who, while yet young, with unconscious power, girded himself for the contest, and by a series of masterly labors, with voice and pen, in parliamentary debates, and in the discussions of the press, breathed into his country the breath of life. He deserves it by the great principles of true democracy which he caused to be recognised—rep-

resentation of the people without distinction of rank or birth, and *equality before the law*. He deserves it by the trials he has undergone, in prison and in exile. He deserves it by the precious truth, which he now so eloquently proclaims, of the Fraternity of Nations.

As I regard his course, I am filled with reverence and awe. I see in him, more than in any other living man, the power which may be exerted by a single, earnest, honest soul, in a noble cause. In himself he is more than a whole cabinet—more than a whole army. I watch him in Hungary, while, like Carnot in France, he “organizes victory;” I follow him in exile to distant Asiatic Turkey, and there find him, with only a scanty band of attendants, in weakness and confinement, still the dread of despots; I sympathize with him in his happy release; and now, as he comes more within the sphere of our immediate observation, amazement fills us all in the contemplation of his career, while he proceeds from land to land, from city to city, and, with words of matchless eloquence, seems at times the fiery sword of freedom, and then the trumpet of resurrection to the nations—*Tuba mirum spargens sonum*.

I know not how others have been impressed; but I can call to mind no incident in history—no event of peace or war—certainly none of war—more strongly calculated—better adapted—to touch and exalt the imagination and the heart than his recent visit to England. He landed on the southern coast, not far from where William of Normandy, nearly eight centuries ago, had landed; not far from where, nineteen centuries ago, Julius Cæsar had landed also; but William, on the field of Hastings, and Cæsar, in his adventurous expedition, made no conquest comparable in grandeur to that achieved by the unarmed and unattended Hungarian. A multitudinous people, outnumbering far the armies of those earlier times, was subdued by his wisdom and eloquence; and this exile, proceeding from place to place, traversing the country, at last, in the very heart of the Kingdom, threw down the gauntlet of the Republic. Without equivocation, amidst the supporters of monarchy, in the shadow of a lofty throne, he proclaimed himself a republican, and proclaimed the republic as his cherished aspiration for Hungary. And yet, amidst the excitements of this unparalleled scene, with that discretion which I pray may ever attend



him, as a good angel—the ancient poet aptly tells us that no Divinity is absent where Prudence is present—he forbore all suggestion of interference with the existing institutions of the country whose guest he was, recognising that vital principle of self-government, by virtue of which every State chooses for itself the institutions and rulers which it prefers.

Such a character, thus grandly historic—a living Wallace—a living Tell—I had almost said a living Washington—deserves our homage. Nor am I tempted to ask if there be any precedent for the resolution now under consideration. There is a time for all things; and the time has come for us to make a precedent in harmony with his unprecedented career. The occasion is fit; the hero is near; let us speak our welcome. It is true that, unlike Lafayette, he has never directly served our country; but I cannot admit that on this account he is less worthy. Like Lafayette, he periled life and all; like Lafayette, he has done penance in an Austrian dungeon; like Lafayette, he has served the cause of freedom; and whosoever serves this cause, wheresoever he may be, in whatever land, is entitled, according to his works, to the gratitude of every true American bosom—of every true lover of mankind.

The resolution before us commends itself by its simplicity and completeness. In this respect it seems to me preferable to that of the Senator from Illinois, [Mr. SHIELDS,] nor is it obnoxious to objections urged against that of the Senator from Mississippi, [Mr. FOOTE;] nor do I see that it can give any just umbrage, in our diplomatic relations, even to the sensitive representative of the house of Austria. Though we have the high authority of the President, in his message, for styling our guest “Governor”—a title which seems to imply the *de facto* independence of Hungary at the very time when our Government declined to acknowledge it—the resolution avoids this difficulty, and speaks of him without title of any kind—simply as a private citizen. As such, it offers him a welcome to the capital and to the country.

The comity of nations I respect. To the behests of the law of nations I profoundly bow. As in our domestic affairs, all acts are brought to the Constitution, as to a touchstone, so in our foreign affairs, all acts are brought to the touchstone of the law of nations—that supreme law, the world’s collected will, which overarches the Grand Commonwealth of Christian States.

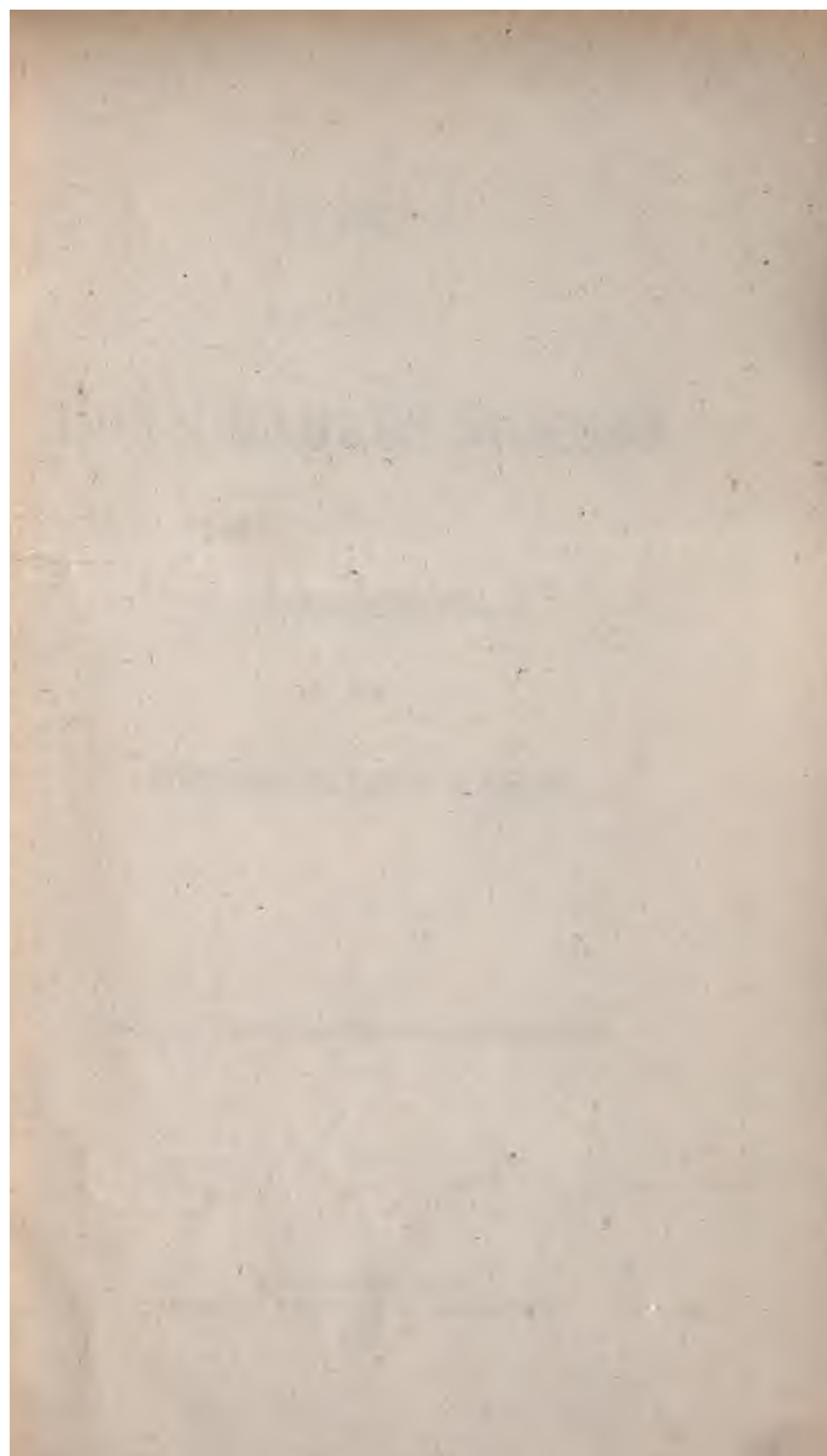
What that forbids, I forbear to do. But no text of this voluminous code, no commentary, no gloss, can be found which forbids us to welcome an exile of freedom.

Looking at this resolution in its various lights—as a carrying out of the act of the last Congress, as justly due to the exalted character of our guest, and as proper in form and consistent with the law of nations—it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion in its favor. On its merits it would naturally be adopted. And here I might stop.

But an appeal has been made against the resolution, on grounds which seem to me extraneous and irrelevant. It has been attempted to involve it with the critical question of intervention by our country in European affairs; and recent speeches in England and New York have been adduced to show that such intervention is sought by our guest. It is sufficient to say in reply to this suggestion, introduced by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BERRIEN] with a skill which all might envy—and also by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. MILLER]—*that no such intervention is promised or implied by the resolution.* It does not appear on the face of the resolution; it is not in any way suggested by the resolution, directly or indirectly. It can only be found in the imagination, the anxieties, or the fears of Senators! It is a mere ghost, and not a reality. As such we may dismiss it. But I feel strongly on this point, and desire to go further. Here again I shall be brief; for the occasion allows me to state conclusions only, and not arguments.

While thus warmly—with my heart in my hand—joining in this tribute, I wish to be understood as in no respect encouraging any idea of belligerent intervention in European affairs. Such a system would have in it no element of just self-defence, and it would open phials of perplexities and ills which I trust our country will never be called to affront. But I inculcate no frigid isolation. God forbid that we should even close our ears to the cry of distress, or cease to swell with indignation at the steps of tyranny! In the wisdom of Washington we may find perpetual counsel. Like Washington in his eloquent words to the Minister of the French Directory, I would offer sympathy and God-speed to all, in every land, who struggle for Human Rights; but, sternly as Washington on another occasion, against every pressure, against all popular appeals, against all sollicita-









*Smith, William W.*

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**KOSSUTH AND HIS MISSION:**

**A SPEECH**

**BY**

**MR. SMITH, OF ALABAMA,**

**DELIVERED**

**IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DECEMBER 15, 1851.**

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**WASHINGTON:**

**PRINTED AT THE CONGRESSIONAL GLOBE OFFICE.  
1851.**

1864, July 22.  
Gift of  
Hon. C. Sumner.  
(Class of 1830.)

## KOSSUTH AND HIS MISSION.

Mr. SMITH said:

Mr. SPEAKER: It will be remembered that, a few days ago, I gave notice that I should introduce the following joint resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of State be required to furnish Louis Kossuth with copies of the acts of Congress defining treason and misdemeanors against the United States.

*Resolved*, further, That if the said Louis Kossuth, after reading the said laws, shall still persist in making such speeches as he has made since his arrival in New York, inciting the young men of the country to take up arms against a nation with which the United States is at peace, it shall be the solemn duty of the President of the United States to have him arrested and detained until satisfactory assurances be given that he will cease his efforts to enlist the coöperative aid and armed interference of the people of these States in favor of Hungary.

As soon as the resolutions were published, I was assailed in the fiercest manner by the Eastern press. The horde of cormorant, alien editors, who control the press, could scarcely find words low and mean enough, in their opinion, by which to characterize the resolutions, the author, and his motives. And hence it became important that I should vindicate my position. I was quietly, but anxiously, waiting for an opportunity to do this, without appearing to press for the attention of the House; and you may imagine my astonishment when I entered the Hall this morning, at fifteen minutes past twelve o'clock, and found the House voting for the adoption\* of the SENATE'S RESOLUTION, the previous question having been called and sustained!

I was forced to vote for the resolution, in order thus to secure to myself the privilege of moving a reconsideration, hoping, in this way, to be able to make my vindication; but in this I have been anticipated by the honorable gentleman from Indiana, [Mr. ROBINSON,] who moves to reconsider, and to lay his motion on the table.

I now, as a last shift, move to reconsider the vote by which the title of the resolution was adopted, and under that motion I ask leave to make a personal explanation.

The SPEAKER. Debate upon that question must be confined to the merits of the title of the resolution, and the reasons for its reconsideration.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I rise to a question of order. I desire to inquire whether there was a division upon the question of adopting the title? If there was no division, then I have no question to make.

The SPEAKER. There was no division.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Then I have no question to make.

Mr. SMITH. I ask the Clerk to read the title of the resolution and the resolution.

Mr. CARTTER. I object to the reading of the resolution. That is not now under consideration.

The SPEAKER. It is competent for the House to order the reading of the resolution. The question, therefore, is, Shall the resolution be read?

[Loud cries of "No!" "No!" and "Yes!" from all parts of the Hall.]

Mr. EVANS. I submit to the Chair that the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SMITH] has the right to demand that the resolution shall be read. If he has the right to discuss the merits of the title, and its pertinency to the resolution, I desire to know how he can show its pertinency without having the resolution read?

Mr. SMITH. If the House will but listen to me for two minutes—

\* On Wednesday, two days after the passage of the welcome resolution, Mr. HEBARD offered a resolution; which was read as follows, viz:

"Whereas Kossuth, in a speech by him lately delivered at New York, is reported to have declared that he considered the resolution recently passed and adopted by this House 'has a political meaning;' Therefore,

*Resolved*, That said resolution was intended by this House to have no 'political meaning,' nor to pledge this Government to any political action; but that it was intended merely as a testimonial of sympathy and respect for Kossuth and the cause in which he is engaged."

Kossuth is determined to have his own way, and to censure or interpret Congress as he pleases. The necessity of offering this resolution is but the beginning of the humiliation which the Congressional friends of Kossuth are bound to feel, and in due time to acknowledge, for the indecent haste with which they forced the passage of the welcome resolution.

once obvious and conclusive. In assigning these, I shall be brief; and let me say that, novice as I am in this hall, and, indeed, in all legislative halls, nothing but my strong interest in the question as now presented, and a hope to say something directly upon it, could prompt me thus early to mingle in these debates.

The case seems to require a statement, rather than an argument. As I understand, the last Congress requested the President to authorize the employment of one of our public vessels to receive and convey Louis Kossuth to the United States. That honorable service was performed, under the express direction of the President, and in pursuance of the vote of Congress, by one of the best-appointed ships of our navy—the steam-frigate Mississippi. Far away from our country, in foreign waters, in the currents of the Bosphorus, the Hungarian chief, passing from his Turkish exile, first pressed the deck of this gallant vessel; first came under the protection of our national flag; and, for the first time in his life, rested beneath the ensign of an unquestioned Republic. From that moment he became our guest. The Republic—which, thus far, he had seen only in delighted dream or vision—was now his host; and though this relation was interrupted for a few weeks by his wise and brilliant visit to England, yet its duties and its pleasures, as I confidently submit, are not yet ended. The liberated exile is now at our gates. Sir, we cannot do things by halves; and the hospitality thus, under the auspices of Congress, begun, must, under the auspices of Congress, be continued. The hearts of the people are already open to receive him; Congress cannot turn its back upon him.

But I would join in this welcome, not merely because it is essential to complete and crown the work of the last Congress, but because our guest deserves it at our hands. The distinction is great, I know; but is not so great as his deserts. He deserves it as the early, constant, and incorruptible champion of the Liberal Cause in Hungary, who, while yet young, with unconscious power, girded himself for the contest, and by a series of masterly labors, with voice and pen, in parliamentary debates, and in the discussions of the press, breathed into his country the breath of life. He deserves it by the great principles of true democracy which he caused to be recognised—rep-

resentation of the people without distinction of rank or birth, and *equality before the law*. He deserves it by the trials he has undergone, in prison and in exile. He deserves it by the precious truth, which he now so eloquently proclaims, of the Fraternity of Nations.

As I regard his course, I am filled with reverence and awe. I see in him, more than in any other living man, the power which may be exerted by a single, earnest, honest soul, in a noble cause. In himself he is more than a whole cabinet—more than a whole army. I watch him in Hungary, while, like Carnot in France, he “organizes victory;” I follow him in exile to distant Asiatic Turkey, and there find him, with only a scanty band of attendants, in weakness and confinement, still the dread of despots; I sympathize with him in his happy release; and now, as he comes more within the sphere of our immediate observation, amazement fills us all in the contemplation of his career, while he proceeds from land to land, from city to city, and, with words of matchless eloquence, seems at times the fiery sword of freedom, and then the trumpet of resurrection to the nations—*Tuba mirum spargens sonum*.

I know not how others have been impressed; but I can call to mind no incident in history—no event of peace or war—certainly none of war—more strongly calculated—better adapted—to touch and exalt the imagination and the heart than his recent visit to England. He landed on the southern coast, not far from where William of Normandy, nearly eight centuries ago, had landed; not far from where, nineteen centuries ago, Julius Cæsar had landed also; but William, on the field of Hastings, and Cæsar, in his adventurous expedition, made no conquest comparable in grandeur to that achieved by the unarmed and unattended Hungarian. A multitudinous people, outnumbering far the armies of those earlier times, was subdued by his wisdom and eloquence; and this exile, proceeding from place to place, traversing the country, at last, in the very heart of the Kingdom, threw down the gauntlet of the Republic. Without equivocation, amidst the supporters of monarchy, in the shadow of a lofty throne, he proclaimed himself a republican, and proclaimed the republic as his cherished aspiration for Hungary. And yet, amidst the excitements of this unparalleled scene, with that discretion which I pray may ever attend



him, as a good angel—the ancient poet aptly tells us that no Divinity is absent where Prudence is present—he forbore all suggestion of interference with the existing institutions of the country whose guest he was, recognising that vital principle of self-government, by virtue of which every State chooses for itself the institutions and rulers which it prefers.

Such a character, thus grandly historic—a living Wallace—a living Tell—I had almost said a living Washington—deserves our homage. Nor am I tempted to ask if there be any precedent for the resolution now under consideration. There is a time for all things; and the time has come for us to make a precedent in harmony with his unprecedented career. The occasion is fit; the hero is near; let us speak our welcome. It is true that, unlike Lafayette, he has never directly served our country; but I cannot admit that on this account he is less worthy. Like Lafayette, he periled life and all; like Lafayette, he has done penance in an Austrian dungeon; like Lafayette, he has served the cause of freedom; and whosoever serves this cause, wheresoever he may be, in whatever land, is entitled, according to his works, to the gratitude of every true American bosom—of every true lover of mankind.

The resolution before us commends itself by its simplicity and completeness. In this respect it seems to me preferable to that of the Senator from Illinois, [Mr. SHIELDS,] nor is it obnoxious to objections urged against that of the Senator from Mississippi, [Mr. FOOTE;] nor do I see that it can give any just umbrage, in our diplomatic relations, even to the sensitive representative of the house of Austria. Though we have the high authority of the President, in his message, for styling our guest “Governor”—a title which seems to imply the *de facto* independence of Hungary at the very time when our Government declined to acknowledge it—the resolution avoids this difficulty, and speaks of him without title of any kind—simply as a private citizen. As such, it offers him a welcome to the capital and to the country.

The comity of nations I respect. To the behests of the law of nations I profoundly bow. As in our domestic affairs, all acts are brought to the Constitution, as to a touchstone, so in our foreign affairs, all acts are brought to the touchstone of the law of nations—that supreme law, the world’s collected will, which overarches the Grand Commonwealth of Christian States.

What that forbids, I forbear to do. But no text of this voluminous code, no commentary, no gloss, can be found which forbids us to welcome an exile of freedom.

Looking at this resolution in its various lights—as a carrying out of the act of the last Congress, as justly due to the exalted character of our guest, and as proper in form and consistent with the law of nations—it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion in its favor. On its merits it would naturally be adopted. And here I might stop.

But an appeal has been made against the resolution, on grounds which seem to me extraneous and irrelevant. It has been attempted to involve it with the critical question of intervention by our country in European affairs; and recent speeches in England and New York have been adduced to show that such intervention is sought by our guest. It is sufficient to say in reply to this suggestion, introduced by the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BERRIEN] with a skill which all might envy—and also by the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. MILLER]—*that no such intervention is promised or implied by the resolution.* It does not appear on the face of the resolution; it is not in any way suggested by the resolution, directly or indirectly. It can only be found in the imagination, the anxieties, or the fears of Senators! It is a mere ghost, and not a reality. As such we may dismiss it. But I feel strongly on this point, and desire to go further. Here again I shall be brief; for the occasion allows me to state conclusions only, and not arguments.

While thus warmly—with my heart in my hand—joining in this tribute, I wish to be understood as in no respect encouraging any idea of belligerent intervention in European affairs. Such a system would have in it no element of just self-defence, and it would open phials of perplexities and ills which I trust our country will never be called to affront. But I inculcate no frigid isolation. God forbid that we should even close our ears to the cry of distress, or cease to swell with indignation at the steps of tyranny! In the wisdom of Washington we may find perpetual counsel. Like Washington in his eloquent words to the Minister of the French Directory, I would offer sympathy and God-speed to all, in every land, who struggle for Human Rights; but, sternly as Washington on another occasion, against every pressure, against all popular appeals, against all sollicita-

tions, against all blandishments, I would uphold with steady hand the peaceful neutrality of the country. Could I now approach our mighty guest, I would say to him, with the respectful frankness of a friend, "Be content with the outgushing sympathy which you now so marvellously inspire everywhere throughout this wide-spread land, and may it strengthen your soul! Trust in God, in the inspiration of your cause, and in the Great Future, pregnant with freedom for all mankind. But respect our ideas, as we respect yours. Do not seek to reverse our traditional, established policy of peace. *Do not, under the too plausible sophism of upholding non-intervention, provoke American intervention on distant European soil.* Leave us to tread where Washington points the way.

And yet, with these convictions, Mr. President, which I now most sincerely express, I trust the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BERRIEN] will pardon me when I say I cannot join in his proposed amendment; and for this specific reason. It attaches to an act of courtesy and welcome a condition which, however just as an independent proposition, is most ungracious in such connection. It is out of place, and everything out of place is, to a certain extent, offensive. If adopted, it would impair, if not destroy, the value of our act. A generous hospitality will not make terms or conditions with a guest; and such hospitality, I trust, Congress will tender to Louis Kossuth.





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**KOSSUTH AND HIS MISSION:**

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**DELIVERED**

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I was forced to vote for the resolution, in order thus to secure to myself the privilege of moving a reconsideration, hoping, in this way, to be able to make my vindication; but in this I have been anticipated by the honorable gentleman from Indiana, [Mr. ROBINSON,] who moves to reconsider, and to lay his motion on the table.

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The SPEAKER. Debate upon that question must be confined to the merits of the title of the resolution, and the reasons for its reconsideration.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I rise to a question of order. I desire to inquire whether there was a division upon the question of adopting the title? If there was no division, then I have no question to make.

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Mr. SMITH. I ask the Clerk to read the title of the resolution and the resolution.

Mr. CARTTER. I object to the reading of the resolution. That is not now under consideration.

The SPEAKER. It is competent for the House to order the reading of the resolution. The question, therefore, is, Shall the resolution be read?

[Loud cries of "No!" "No!" and "Yes!" from all parts of the Hall.]

Mr. EVANS. I submit to the Chair that the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SMITH] has the right to demand that the resolution shall be read. If he has the right to discuss the merits of the title, and its pertinency to the resolution, I desire to know how he can show its pertinency without having the resolution read?

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Mr. CARTTER. I object.

[Cries of "Hear him!" "Hear him!" and great confusion in the Hall.]

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SMITH] is entitled to the floor and will proceed.

Mr. SMITH. I merely wish to explain my position. If the House will indulge me, I will get through in the time which gentlemen will consume with their interruptions. I believe I have the right to address the House upon the merits of the question, by virtue of my motion to reconsider the title of the resolution; but I will not insist upon that right—I ask it as a courtesy. I desire to show, that at the time I gave notice of my intention to offer the resolutions, there were grounds of apprehension that an armed expedition might be got up in New York. I cannot get at this without going to some extent into the merits of the resolution just adopted, and also, to some extent, into the merits of the whole Kossuth question.

The SPEAKER, (interrupting.) The gentleman from Alabama will allow the Chair to say, that he has not now the right to discuss the resolutions of which he gave notice the other day, unless the House grant him leave; neither is it in order to discuss the main body of the resolution, except so far as it is necessary to inquire whether the title ought or ought not to be adopted.

Mr. McMULLIN. I rise for the purpose of propounding this interrogatory to the Chair: I desire to know whether it is in order to move that the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SMITH] have leave to explain?

The SPEAKER. It is competent for the House to grant leave, if the rules are suspended for that purpose.

Mr. McMULLIN. Is it in order, then, to move a suspension of the rules for that purpose?

The SPEAKER. Certainly.

Mr. McMULLIN. Then I move that the rules of the House be suspended, in order to allow the gentleman from Alabama an opportunity for explanation.

Mr. CARTTER. Upon that motion I demand the yeas and nays.

Mr. GENTRY. I believe, according to previous usage, the House have the right to grant leave upon a mere motion. I move that the gentleman from Alabama have leave to explain, so far as he thinks it necessary for his own vindication.

Mr. JONES, of Tennessee. The gentleman from Tennessee has anticipated me. I intended to have made the same motion.

The question was then put, and carried in the affirmative.

So leave was granted.

Mr. SMITH. I thank my friend from Virginia [Mr. McMULLIN] for the motion to suspend the rule, in order to allow me the fuller opportunity of explanation. I noticed, when he voted, that he remarked, that he doubted the propriety of that vote. I am satisfied that he will agree with my views.

The course, Mr. Speaker, which has been taken by the Congress of the United States upon this resolution, presents to the country a most extraordinary spectacle of legislation. A few days ago when it was introduced in the other end of the Capitol, we see that it met with so light favor that its projector [Mr. FOOTE]—a man of indomitable zeal and energy—thought proper to withdraw it, under the frowns of opposition. At that time the "Star of the East" had not arisen; at that time Kossuth had not appeared, and popular commotion had not been aroused in the country; at that time the mob power had not begun to be exercised. But suddenly the wires begin to cry out, "Kossuth has arrived! Shame on Congress!! Make haste, gentlemen, and pass your resolution, or you will delay the illustrious exile! The people demand your homage to this eastern idol! Act—act—or the people will hold you accountable!"

And here I present the House with an extract from a precious editorial in the *New York Herald*, to show how the press assails honest men, and thus attempts to control the action of Congress:

"The scene on Wednesday last in the United States Senate, during the debate on the Kossuth resolution, was one of peculiar interest. The Russian Minister was the distinguishing feature of the occasion. He was observed to pay the deepest interest to the discussion. When Foote spoke, he looked on with that expression of contempt and disgust with which one of our codfish aristocracy would regard a Democratic harangue from Mike Walsh. When General Cass spoke, however, the countenance of M. Bodisco assumed a melancholy expression, as if touched with a presentiment of the power of the untutored Democracy of this country in shaping out the action of our Government. But there were two sides to the question; and when General Dawson, of Georgia, took the Russian side, the Siberian coldness of the distinguished envoy was thawed into a genial smile of approbation. The speech of Mr. Underwood, however, told with the happiest effect. Several times he lifted his hat, as if about proposing three cheers for Underwood, but desisted, most likely, out of respect to the Senate.

The fact is, the Russian Ambassador had achieved a great victory. He had heard Kossuth and his cause denounced in the American Senate, and he had occasion to plume himself upon the result. Why? Because, as we are apprised, he had been seen in close and suspicious confab with Messrs. Dawson and Underwood on the floor of the Senate, the day before. Hence we are free to infer, that M. Bodisco, for the time, transferred the scene of his negotiations to the Senate chamber, and alarmed Messrs. Dawson and Underwood with all sorts of horrible holoblines. He could not himself have made a better Russian speech for the Austrians, than that of Mr. Underwood. Such appears to be the influence in the Senate of the chief of the diplomatic corps. But there it stops. The House of Representatives breathes a different atmosphere; and that warily body, together with the public press and the American people, will pay very little attention to such broken-legged arguments as those of Mr. Underwood against Kossuth. General Foote should have started his resolutions in the House. The Senate appears to be too old and dignified for republican enthusiasm. But Seward may succeed where Foote has failed. Who knows?"

There, sir, you have a lecture. And it seems really to have rejuvenized the Senate, and inflated it with all the enthusiasm of Young Americanism! For Seward has succeeded, where Foote has failed! And a resolution, though not in the same terms, yet looking to the same object, has been introduced in the Senate, and that body has passed it with but six dissenting voices. Is that legislating within the walls of this Capitol, beyond the influence of popular



commotion? Or is it not, rather, the public outside these walls who make the law, and pass the resolution?

But what do we see in this House? We see the same resolution brought forward here, at the hour of twelve o'clock, and before a remark could be made the previous question was called; that question was sustained, and the resolution passed. So that Mr. Bennett was not mistaken when he said of this House, in the extract above, "that unruly body, together with the public press and the American people, will pay very little attention to such broken-legged arguments as those of Mr. Underwood."

And in the New York *Sun* I find another *compliment* to Congress, reading thus:

"Kossuth has found here (in Washington) as much favor as he has found in New York. Congress was, at first, disposed to show him the cold shoulder; but, as Kossuth began to loom up, disclosing his colossal proportions, Congress hastened to take shelter under his broad shadow."

Mr. CARTTER. I rise to a question of order. The question submitted to the House was, "Shall the gentleman from Alabama have leave to make a personal explanation?" That was the question submitted to the House, and the one upon which the House acted.

Mr. JONES, of Tennessee. That is just what he is doing.

Mr. CARTTER. The gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. JONES] says that is what he was doing. I do not understand what this personal explanation is, then, if it will allow the gentleman to start off with a general attack upon Kossuth, and this body, for passing the Kossuth resolution. If I understand the force and connection of his remarks, instead of being a personal explanation of the gentleman from Alabama, it is a reflection upon the whole House and its character, and particularly upon the friends of this resolution.

Mr. JOHNSON, of Arkansas. I call the gentleman from Ohio to order.

Mr. CARTTER. Well, that is the point of order I make.

Mr. SMITH. I believe the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. CARTTER] is a little fuller of a speech to-day than I am. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. The Chair will remark that, in his opinion, the gentleman from Alabama has not transgressed the privilege granted him by the House.

Mr. SMITH. I say to the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. CARTTER,] that I censure no one. I refer to facts, and show the record. That gentleman ought to know that the triumph of humbug is one of the characteristics of this age. But let no man be deceived. If he be wise, he will not. Yet public opinion is so easily manufactured in this country, that the wisest and best of us know not how to take it—whether as the mirror of merit or the guile of speculation. It is a little remarkable, in this particular case, that Mr. Genin, the man who paid the first \$500—or \$800 for the first prize seat—to be located near Jenny Lind, is the identical humbugarian who is the first to subscribe \$1,000 to the Kossuth fund! His Jenny Lindism was an idea of speculation—to increase his sale of hats; his Kossuthism may be traced to the same magnificent conception! The fortunes of Barnum and Jenny Lind depended greatly upon the

\*The mob power in New York does not seem to be confined to the large out-door assemblies. At the Bar Dinner:

"Judge Duer having next ventured to express his dissent from the new policy of intervention urged by Kossuth, the enthusiasm of the company soon took a new direction, which is best described by the official report of the proceedings, as given in the special organ of the great Magyar at New York. It is as follows:

"Judge Duer felt bound to say, to prevent misconception on his own behalf as well as that of a large number of his brethren of the Bench and the Bar, that he must not be understood as assenting, or wished to be understood as assenting, to the sentiments our guest has submitted in regard to the policy of our Government. (Cries of 'We do,' 'we do,' and three cheers for Kossuth.) Nothing had struck him with so much admiration as his noble frankness. He felt that the same frankness was due in return. (Cries of 'Kossuth's right; he's right,' &c.) He ventured to say that, if he could not be heard, mischief had been already done, and Americans could not be listened to. It was not his purpose to enter upon any discussion of debatable questions. He wished only to say that the sentiments—(cries of 'Print that in the *Courier and Enquirer*')—the questions that the sentiments of our guest suggest are regarded by many as the most deeply interesting of any that have ever been raised since the foundation of our Government. And many of us doubt whether it is safe that such propositions should be first submitted to popular assemblies, when reasons only on one side are heard. They involved a sudden and violent departure from the settled policy of our Government—a policy not founded on a temporary expediency, but on the principle of our Constitution. Such propositions ought not to be adopted until understood in all their consequences—until subjected to a thorough discussion."

"Loud hisses and cries arose, and order was with great difficulty restored. A violent altercation arose between two gentlemen in the room. Loud cries, groans, cheers, &c., arose, and the whole room was for some minutes a scene of perfect disorder.

"A Voice: I appeal from Judge Duer to the people. He has no business to speak in that way here.

"Loud cries interrupted Judge Duer, and the room was still in the utmost disorder. This lasted several minutes.

"Three tremendous cheers were here given for Kossuth, followed by three more and loud applause and calls for Kossuth."

"The tumult continued with such violence that the chairman could not announce the next regular toast until some one of the company hit upon the expedient of giving as a sentiment, 'The first President of Independent Hungary.'"

Upon this proceeding the *Evening Mirror* thus eloquently discourses:

"The attempt to put down the venerable Judge Duer, who, after exhausting superlatives in praise of the distinguished guest, begged leave to dissent from some of the propositions of the revolutionary programme, illustrates the madness of the hour. It was a melancholy comment upon our boasted freedom of opinion, to see the Radicals of Tammany Hall insulting by hisses a man equally venerable in wisdom and in years. But the voice of Nestor could not be heard in the crazy camp of the Revolutionists. The young Filibusters of the Bar, stimulated to deeds of impudence by the 'spirit of the occasion,' drowned even the clarion tones of the eloquent and venerable Jurist, who was compelled to sit down, while the Young Democracy mounted the chairs yelling out their 'appeals from the Judge to the People.' O, it was a disgraceful scene; but only a foretaste of what is to come, when this tide of rampant Radicalism, which is surging higher and higher, shall sweep all before it, respecting neither the rights of property nor the rights of person—no, nor the gray hairs which consecrate even the ermine of the Judiciary."



start—the beginning; and the result showed that Genin's bid fixed the custom, and established, in a great measure, the price of the prize seats at the concerts.

The growth and power of mobism in New York is not surprising.\* With its 100,000 aliens, always floating, and always under the control of its gang of alien editors, whose bed is restlessness, and whose food is sedition; with its 100,000 people who never go to church; with its 9,000 grog-shops, kept mostly by aliens; with its Barnums, Genins and Greeleys, to lead and to incite—I say the growth and power of mobism in New York is not surprising. But it is surprising that the old "solidarity" end of the Capitol of the United States should be rocked from its anchorage of dignity by the waves of popular commotion!

Mr. Speaker, is it the object of the resolution you have just adopted to contribute to the happiness of Kossuth? Let us inquire, a moment, into his condition. It is thought by some persons to be the greatest evil that can happen to man, to be banished from his country. But this is not always the fact. The extent of the misfortune, however, depends upon circumstances—the country from which he is banished, its situation, its wealth, its poverty, its laws, and the home-condition of the party banished at the time. Indeed, it is not always a misfortune. I remember that Diogenes counterfeited coin in order that he might be banished from Pontus. I remember that Stratoniceus committed forgery in order that he might be banished from Straphos. They thought that to be banished from such countries was getting out of prison.

Now, if we look at the condition of Kossuth, at the time of our intercession in his behalf; if we consider the condition of Hungary both before and after the war; if we look upon the condition of the exile, at the time of his banishment, we are bound to conclude that Kossuth may not only not be considered an unfortunate, but, truly, a most fortunate man. We have it, in the story of Themistocles, that when he was banished from Athens he fled to the court of Persia, where he was received with much graciousness. The great Monarch of Persia set apart for him six cities; one for his wine, one for his meat, one for his bread, one for his chamber, one for his wardrobe, and I suppose another for his kennel. Well, Themistocles, while living in so much splendor, forgot poor little Athens, and considered himself the happiest of men; and in contemplating the splendor and luxuries with which he was surrounded, he was led to lay his hands upon the heads of his children, and exclaim, in the excess of his delight: "Ah! my children, we would have been undone, but for our undoing!" Happy Themistocles! Now, let us look at Kossuth again. There he stands, before the American people, welcomed as no man was ever welcomed before. Private assemblies and public assemblies go forth to greet him; private mansions and public mansions, heart and all, are opened to receive him. Military chieftains and municipal authorities attend him with all the pomp and circumstance of place and power; and musical bands, with all their glowing and charming incidents, combine to welcome him to these shores.

"Wine, wit, and beauty still their charms display,

Light all the shades of life and cheer him on his way."

Happy, happy Kossuth!

But we stop not here in the contemplation of his bliss. Besides this feast of humbug and this flow of bowl, we see money flowing in upon him from all quarters! He has read Shakespeare, and remembers the advice of Iago—"Put money in thy purse."

I see in his last speech in New York he unrolls a little magical scroll there, which gives him a great deal of pleasure, and which seemed to be a source of infinite delight to his audience—that dinner party—that great dinner party, which I suppose is to control, as the pulse of public sentiment, Congress, as well as the whole American people. It is wise to remember that the sober second thought comes, not only after dinner, but after digestion; and that a New York dinner and its sentiments are no indices of public opinion in the States.

The little document which he unrolled proceeded in these words:

"CINCINNATI, OHIO, December 4, 1851.

"M. LOUIS KOSSUTH, Governor of Hungary: Sir—I have authorized the office of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company, in New York, to hand you drafts on me for \$1,000.

"Respectfully yours,

"W. SMEAD."

This was very gratefully received, and the Hungarian exile then proceeded to submit a proposition to raise more money.

I will now leave Kossuth in the full enjoyment of the beatitude arising from so charming an incident, and submit to the House the plain propositions by which I was induced to announce my resolutions.

I propose to examine the merits of Kossuth's mission to the United States.

1st. He comes to raise money.

2d. He comes to stir up the young and the old of the country to take up arms in favor of Hungary.

3d. He comes—a monk monarchist—to teach Americans how to interpret the policies of Washington.

4th. He comes—the dupe of England—to endeavor to unite England and the United States in a plan of "armed non-intervention" in the affairs of other nations, and to induce us to depart from our ancient custom of attending to our own business, and letting the other nations of the earth do likewise; and that this doctrine leads inevitably to war.

5th. He comes to interfere with the freedom of religious opinion as it exists in our Constitution.

First. To raise money. To this part of Kossuth's mission I attach much importance. Money is a most powerful lever for good and for evil. If the money was contributed for his own private comforts, and for the use of his family, he might be permitted to pass, as well as any other illus-



trious beggar. But the great apprehension is, that the money is to be used for the unholy purposes of ambition, and to pay gallant young soldiers whose hearts are full of patriotism to fight for the elevation of persons—for the MAN who has been striving all his life to make permanent the principles of despotism.

We are told by his friends that he was detained in England, and did not arrive on our shores as soon as was expected, because he was there to arrange and provide for the wants of his associates, *by a subscription*, got up for them in London. This, however, was a private and family business, into which I have no desire to inquire. I call the attention of Congress to his money plans in the United States. He discourses on this subject thus: (From his New York dinner speech.)

"And if that sympathy which I have the honor to meet with in the United States is really intended to become beneficial to the cause of my poor native land, then there is one humble wish more which I anxiously entertain. But that is a private business: it is a respectful appeal to the generous feelings of individuals. *Gentlemen, I would rather starve than rely, for myself and family, on foreign aid; but, for my country's freedom, I would not be ashamed to go a begging from door to door.* Gentlemen, I mean financial aid; money to assist the cause of freedom, and independence of Hungary. There are two means to see this, my humble wish, accomplished. The first is from spontaneous subscription, to the offerings of kind friends at my disposal, for the benefit of my country's cause. The second is a loan. As to this loan, that is a business of a more private nature, which to be carried on in an appropriate way, requires private consultation in a more close circle. So here I only mention that if there are such generous men who are willing to enter into the idea, provided it will be arranged in an acceptable way, I would most humbly entreat them to enter into a private communication about the subject with me."

This extract shows that the money is wanted to fit out an expedition "*to assist the cause of freedom and independence of Hungary.*" The proposition is distinctly made and submitted, to raise money by spontaneous subscriptions and a privately-arranged loan, to be used in a war! in a war with a nation with which we are at peace! Kossuth would scorn any "*foreign aid for himself.*" Then we are asked by this man to furnish to him the *sinees of war*, to be used against Austria! and this, too, at the time when a conspiracy actually exists in Hungary, as we learn from the following dispatch:

NEW YORK, December 14, 1851.

"News has just been received that Kossuth's agent has been arrested in Hungary, with Kossuth's dispatches and letters; and that a conspiracy has been discovered amongst the Magyar nobility."

And yet Kossuth is to be invited, and he is invited by your resolution, in the face of this proposition and these facts, to come to Washington, and take his stand there where you sit, and to reiterate this proposition to the people of the United States, under the solemn sanction of Congress! Encouraged by your smiles, sustained by a frantic press which caters for the daily appetite of excitement, that the mob may be gorged to the full measure of its insatiate maw, he will go on with his petition, thus:

"I beg leave here publicly to return my most humble thanks to the gentleman, for his ample aid, and the delicate manner in which he offered it; and it came to my mind, that where one single individual is ready to make such sacrifices to my country's cause, there may, perhaps, be many who would give their small share to it, if they were only apprised that it will be thankfully accepted, however small it may be."

"And it came to mind, then that drops of millions make an ocean, and the United States number many millions of inhabitants, all attached, with warm feelings, to the principles of liberty, agglomerated by single dollars, is even so one million of dollars, as if it were one single draft, to me yet more precious, because it would practically show the sympathy of the people at large. I will consider it highly beneficial, should I be so happy as to see that generous men would form committees throughout the United States, to raise out of the free offerings of the people, some material aid to assist the second course of freedom, and independence of Hungary. It is a delicate matter, gentlemen, for me to speak so. It is, perhaps, one of the greatest sacrifices to my country that I do so. [Great applause.] But I love my country, [renewed cheering,] and readily I will undergo even this torturing humiliation for her sake."

Now I charge Kossuth with deception. Mr. Smead's draft for \$1,000 was intended for Kossuth's private use. The face of the draft shows it; and Kossuth knew it. Yet he pretends to receive it *only for his country!* And he undergoes the "*torturing humiliation*" of pocketing a thousand dollars for his country's sake! Kossuth has yet to learn that candor, the iron attribute of integrity, is the most positive trait in the genuine American character.

But Kossuth's speeches are like the revelations to Mohammed. If the revelation of yesterday is unpopular, the angel speedily brings a contradiction—a new revelation—an explanation; quite satisfactory and suited to all exigencies. In his dinner speech he says: "*I mean financial aid; money to assist the cause of freedom and the independence of Hungary; material aid, to assist the second cause of freedom and independence of Hungary.*" In a later speech, finding it necessary to retrace his steps, he says:

"I avail myself of this opportunity to proclaim that it is not my design to get money to carry on war in Hungary but only to have some material financial aid, by the help of which we could succeed to come into the condition not unprepared to meet the opportunity which I hope God will soon give. [Cheers.] There is a great difference in these two words. If once war breaks out, my nation will find resources in themselves to carry on the war. To become prepared to meet the opportunity not only in that, but in every other respect, we want the aid of generous men and free nations."

These sophisms and verbal distinctions are only needed to cover up frauds and deceptions.

And now, Mr. Speaker, leaving Kossuth in the meshes of his own inconsistencies and deceptions, I will close this part of my speech by some extracts which will show that he is likely to meet with great success in his financials:

"On Tuesday afternoon a letter was received at the Irving House from the Rev. Dr. Lillienthal, the Jewish Rabbi, inclosing \$90.

"A donation of \$100 was received from Mr. Elihu Townsend, of New York.

"A lady, who is a member of the Peace Society, sent a donation of \$30, to be applied to the relief of the wounded in the war for Hungarian liberty.

"A purse was presented to Madame Kossuth, a donation of \$100 to the Kossuth fund."

The following short but practical letter was received by the Magyar on Tuesday:



"BOSTON, THURSDAY, December 11, 1851.

"GOVERNOR KOSSUTH.—Honored Sir: Set down a portion of your friends in the city of Boston for THREE HUNDRED MUSKETS, for the freedom of Hungary.

"I have the honor to remain your Excellency's obedient servant,

CHAR. W. DENNISON."

You will see that MUSKETS occupy no mean place in the figure of these donations.

"Captain French then got a hearing, and said that on behalf of the Lafayette Fusileers, he begged leave to offer \$1,000 to the Hungarian fund."

We know not what may be the result of Kossuth's secret and private conferences, on the subject of the loan he proposes. But, in this connection, it is not difficult to call up before the imagination, the gloomy picture which presents the animated Lopez pursuing his schemes for borrowing money upon the faith of Cuban bonds! Behold him at the table of the bankers, with pale and emaciated eagerness, his quick, restless, unsteady Spanish eye, hoping for accidents, not foretelling certainties—*insane with ambition, yet with speculators listening!* Speculators in patriotism! Speculators in the best young blood of young America!! Change the scene. Behold these bankers again: these speculators in the patriotic credulity of youth, with their pale faces and wild eyes glaring upon the ghost of Lopez, after the garroting! And gaze still upon the picture till the devil comes, on his just mission, to move these speculators to the *Wall street of hell!* where an office is provided for them, rent free! And you may gaze on, if you choose, but you will not see Kossuth there. He will have a *new set of bankers*, whose experience is in the future!

Second. I now call your attention, Mr. Speaker, to the fact, that Kossuth is trying to stir up the young and the aged of the country to take up arms in favor of Hungary. The fate of the unfortunate fifty who fell in Cuba, whose melancholy end hung a pall of gloom over the whole country, which is still floating about us like shadows of mourning for poor Crittenden and Kerr, ought of itself to be sufficient to cause the American people and the American Congress to pause and make the solemn inquiry whether or not they are ready so soon to invite, to foster, to encourage, and to feast another foreigner—another perturbed, restless, political revolutionist? It is impossible for any man to look this question calmly in the face, as connected with Kossuth, his speeches, the press, and public excitement, without seeing all the features of the Cuban expedition on a larger scale. We cannot yet assign to Lopez his proper position; I trust that posterity will find in him all the elements of a martyr and of a hero. All we know of him is, that he beguiled the young of the country, and that he deceived the old of the country—not publicly, not by eloquence, but by dinner-table conversation, private understandings, loans, and Cuban-bondisms. We know that however wrong he was, the press clamored greatly in his favor, and aided him to disseminate his mischievous doctrines, and finally to fit out his fatal expedition. We all know its end. Disgrace and death terminated the inglorious cause! And the Government of the United States was compelled, in humiliation, to acknowledge a wrong committed by her citizens on the rights and property of a foreign nation.

Now, sir, this illustrious exile cannot consider that I bring him into contempt, by mentioning his name with that of Lopez. I do it with no such intention. I believe that Lopez may find a lofty place in the estimation of posterity. I refer to him merely for the purpose of showing the dangerous influence that may be exercised in our country at this moment by any agitator. Every American knows the excitability of the American disposition. At this particular time, so soon after the disbanding of our armies, when the country is so full of those young men who have tasted of war—whose swords have been whetted, whose ambition now has no outlet, no escape; who have no hope except in arms—at this particular time, the exciting speeches of this eloquent exile may have upon the country a most disastrous effect. It was to avert these evils that I desired to call the attention of the public officers of the country to him and to his position. And with this view, I deemed it advisable to refer them to the laws as they existed. Here is the clause:

"SEC. 3. And be it further enacted, That if any person shall, within the limits of the United States, fit out and arm, or attempt to fit out and arm, or procure to be fitted out and armed, or shall knowingly be concerned in the furnishing, fitting out, or arming of any ship or vessel, with intent that such ship or vessel shall be employed in the service of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people, to cruise or commit hostilities against the subjects, citizens, or property of any foreign prince or state, or of any colony, district, or people, with whom the United States are at peace, or shall issue or deliver a commission within the territory or jurisdiction of the United States, for any ship or vessel, to the intent that she may be employed as aforesaid, every person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and shall be fined not more than \$10,000, and imprisoned not more than three years," &c.

It was known that this law had been shamefully violated in the case of the Pampero, and that that violation brought disaster and death to the parties engaged, and humiliation to the Government of the United States. Now, I charge that, in the face of this law, Kossuth and his friends have been trying to excite the people into feelings favorable to an expedition. He told us in his English speeches that his object in coming to the United States was to endeavor to unite England and America in behalf of his country, and to induce us to abandon our old national non-interventionism, and to adopt an "armed non-intervention," as he is pleased to term it. I have his speeches before me, in which he says that one of the objects of his mission to this country is to perfect a union between England and America, and to introduce into our policy a new idea of national non-intervention. Here is what he says:

"It is not improbable that Baraun, or some of his kin, is in some way reaping a harvest out of the Kossuth excitement. At any rate, he is in a fair way to do so; for the Hungarian has taken one step towards harlequinism, as we learn from the Baltimore Sun:

"Kossuth is to address the ladies at Tripler on Saturday afternoon. Tickets of admission \$5 to the parquette and first circle, and to the galleries \$2."



"I suppose it is known now that the policy of England and of the United States can unite, and when they are united, I myself hope that without wars the interests of mankind by that means will be secured. \* \* \* When I go to the United States, I will consider it to be one of my duties to try if there cannot be an humble opportunity for this union, as I was an humble opportunity for the promulgation of the solidarity sentiment of nations for the principles of liberty."

The mind very readily perceives, from the credulous eagerness with which Kossuth entered into the idea, in England, of the formation of a union between England and the United States, upon this new plan of national non-intervention, that he was the easy and willing dupe of English politicians. He was evidently induced, in England, to press this question of union. No doubt he was encouraged in it by officials and heads of departments. England would be very glad to see the United States abandon her ancient policy of national non-intervention, and to leap into the political whirlpool of entangling alliances. England would be very willing to become entangled herself, in order to induce us to adopt her policy, and to divert our attention from the habits and policies of our fathers. It is our custom—and a wise one—to look upon the diplomatic movements of England with careful and cautious suspicion; and when she prates of *liberty*, we are incredulous! And now, sir, when she attempts, under the guise of sympathy for a liberty-struggling cause, to involve herself in a scheme with us for the extension of our principles—so much opposed to hers—I look upon her movements as sinister. Only think of it, Mr. Speaker, that there should be a union of England and the United States for the spread of *Americanism*! Is it reasonable? England, where the regal power is most submissively acknowledged; where the tyranny of the nobility is most palpable; where the political disfranchisement of the lower classes is visible even to degradation! what good motive can England have in endeavoring to induce us to enter into an alliance with her to alleviate and Americanize Hungary!

And when Kossuth reached the United States—his mind clinging to this solitary idea—he presses this question of union in all his speeches. It is the grand idea of his mind!

In New York he was met by a Mr. Hagedorn, who gave him the following assurances:

"For my part, and I ask no one to be responsible for what I say, although I honestly believe that I speak the sentiments of the great mass of my fellow-countrymen, and especially the sentiments of those three and a half millions of stalwart, able-bodied young men of America, whom our laws have designated for military purposes—I believe I speak the sentiments of this great mass of intelligent citizen-soldiers, who are not merely household troops, sir, but who have recently had an opportunity of demonstrating before the world what use they can make of arms in the enemy's country—I speak their sentiments, sir, when I say that the great Kossuth doctrine of armed non-intervention is the doctrine and sentiments of America—non-intervention for us—non-intervention for all."

What does Kossuth say in reply to this?

"The reception I have already experienced relieves me from much anxiety. If the doctrine of non-intervention is understood, as you state, then the generous and efficient aid of the United States to my country's suffering independence is gained."

Let us pause a moment at this period. We see that Kossuth stated in England that the object of his mission to this country was to endeavor to unite England and America upon a new principle of non-intervention. When he arrived here, he was told that three millions of able-bodied young men were inclined to aid him, and that the great Kossuth doctrine of armed non-intervention was the doctrine and sentiments of the American people; and Kossuth replies that the great object of his mission was accomplished.

I propose now to refer to some of the speeches which he made previously to the offering of my resolutions; and to show that the speeches contained phrases which authorized the resolutions. Recollect, that it has been our policy from the very foundation of the Government to *stay at home and to attend to our own wars—to our own business*—and to let the other nations of the earth do likewise. Recollect, too, that we have adopted a statute which makes it almost reasonable for any man to aid in setting on foot any expedition against any country with which we are at peace. Now, hear what Kossuth says of his motive in being here at this time:

"The motive, citizens, is that your generous act of my liberation has raised the conviction throughout the world that this generous act of yours is but the manifestation of your resolution to throw your weight into the balance where the fate of the European continent is to be weighed. You have raised the conviction throughout the world that by my liberation you were willing to say, 'Ye oppressed nations of old Europe's continent, be of good cheer; the young giant of America stretches his powerful arm over the waves, ready to give a brother's hand to your future.' So is your act interpreted throughout the world."

He goes on to say:

"It is hence that my liberation was cheered, from Sweden down to Portugal, as a ray of hope. It is hence that even those nations which most desire my presence in Europe now, have unanimously told me, 'Hasten on, hasten on to the great, free, rich, and powerful people of the United States, and bring over its brotherly aid to the cause of your country, so intimately connected with European liberty.'"

Again, he says:

"And taking my ground on this principle of union, which I find lawfully existing, an established constitutional fact, it is not to a party, but to the united people of the United States that I will confidently address my humble requests for aid and protection to oppressed humanity. I will conscientiously respect your laws, but within the limits of your laws I will use every honest exertion to gain your operative sympathy and your financial, material, and political aid for my country's freedom and independence, and entreat the realization of these hopes which your generosity has raised in me and my people's breasts, and also in the breasts of Europe's oppressed nations. And, therefore, thirdly, I beg leave frankly to state that my aim is to restore my fatherland to the full enjoyment of that act of declaration of independence, which being the only rightful existing public law of my nation."

How is it possible for his fatherland to be restored without war? How could we possibly aid, financially, materially, and politically, without bringing war?

He had, himself, abandoned his country, and resigned his commission. The Government had been discontinued. Hungary, by the fate of war, lost her existence, as we learn from Kossuth, in his letter of resignation:



*Smith, William G.*

(3)

**KOSSUTH AND HIS MISSION:**

**A SPEECH**

**BY**

**MR. SMITH, OF ALABAMA,**

**DELIVERED**

**IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DECEMBER 15, 1851.**

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## KOSSUTH AND HIS MISSION.

✓ Mr. SMITH said:

Mr. SPEAKER: It will be remembered that, a few days ago, I gave notice that I should introduce the following joint resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of State be required to furnish Louis Kossuth with copies of the acts of Congress defining treason and misdemeanors against the United States.

*Resolved, further*, That if the said Louis Kossuth, after reading the said laws, shall still persist in making such speeches as he has made since his arrival in New York, inciting the young men of the country to take up arms against a nation with which the United States is at peace, it shall be the solemn duty of the President of the United States to have him arrested and detained until satisfactory assurances be given that he will cease his efforts to enlist the coöperative aid and armed interference of the people of these States in favor of Hungary.

As soon as the resolutions were published, I was assailed in the fiercest manner by the Eastern press. The horde of cormorant, alien editors, who control the press, could scarcely find words low and mean enough, in their opinion, by which to characterize the resolutions, the author, and his motives. And hence it became important that I should vindicate my position. I was quietly, but anxiously, waiting for an opportunity to do this, without appearing to press for the attention of the House; and you may imagine my astonishment when I entered the Hall this morning, at fifteen minutes past twelve o'clock, and found the House voting for the adoption\* of the SENATE'S RESOLUTION, the previous question having been called and sustained!

I was forced to vote for the resolution, in order thus to secure to myself the privilege of moving a reconsideration, hoping, in this way, to be able to make my vindication; but in this I have been anticipated by the honorable gentleman from Indiana, [Mr. ROBINSON,] who moves to reconsider, and to lay his motion on the table.

I now, as a last shift, move to reconsider the vote by which the title of the resolution was adopted, and under that motion I ask leave to make a personal explanation.

The SPEAKER. Debate upon that question must be confined to the merits of the title of the resolution, and the reasons for its reconsideration.

Mr. RICHARDSON. I rise to a question of order. I desire to inquire whether there was a division upon the question of adopting the title? If there was no division, then I have no question to make.

The SPEAKER. There was no division.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Then I have no question to make.

Mr. SMITH. I ask the Clerk to read the title of the resolution and the resolution.

Mr. CARTTER. I object to the reading of the resolution. That is not now under consideration.

The SPEAKER. It is competent for the House to order the reading of the resolution. The question, therefore, is, Shall the resolution be read?

[Loud cries of "No!" "No!" and "Yes!" from all parts of the Hall.]

Mr. EVANS. I submit to the Chair that the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. SMITH] has the right to demand that the resolution shall be read. If he has the right to discuss the merits of the title, and its pertinency to the resolution, I desire to know how he can show its pertinency without having the resolution read?

Mr. SMITH. If the House will but listen to me for two minutes—

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\* On Wednesday, two days after the passage of the welcome resolution, Mr. HEBARD offered a resolution; which was read as follows, viz:

"Whereas Kossuth, in a speech by him lately delivered at New York, is reported to have declared that he considered the resolution recently passed and adopted by this House 'has a political meaning;' Therefore,

*Resolved*, That said resolution was intended by this House to have no 'political meaning,' nor to pledge this Government to any political action; but that it was intended merely as a testimonial of sympathy and respect for Kossuth and the cause in which he is engaged."

Kossuth is determined to have his own way, and to censure or interpret Congress as he pleases. The necessity of offering this resolution is but the beginning of the humiliation which the Congressional friends of Kossuth are bound to feel, and in due time to acknowledge, for the indecent haste with which they forced the passage of the welcome resolution.



purpose of asking if it became an exile who had been brought to this country by the mediation of the Government, sanctioned by the people, so soon and so unblushingly to begin his interference in our public as well as our private affairs?

I now come, Mr. Speaker, to consider the *religious* face of Kossuth's mission.

The religious transformations growing out of the Hungarian war, are not the least singular of its incidents. Görgey turned Russian, Bem turned Mohammedan, and Kossuth is presented by his friends in this country, as a second *Peter the Hermit*!—what he was before we know not. But I know the ancient religion of his race, and here it is:

"The Magyars brought a new religion to this interesting land. Like most of the off-shoots of that vast people, which have dwelt so long on the Pacific shores of Asia, they were monotheists, paying no religious veneration to any being but their one almighty, omniscient and eternal God. Their altars were erected on the loftiest hills, or in the shade of remote forests, or within the precincts of neighboring groves. *White horses were their choiced sacrifices.* The name of their Great Spirit was Isten, a word of kindred origin, probably, with the Persian Izda, or Izana, from whose beneficence they imagined all human blessings to be derived. They rendered a sort of grateful respect, not amounting to the lowest style of worship, however, to the earth, to the air, to water, and to fire, as the chief ministers of the Supreme Being, but especially to the sun as the principal messenger of his blessings."—*Teff's Book.*

This is the ancient religion of his race. You see *white horses* figured in that religion. *Oh Whitey* would have stood a slim chance amongst the ancient Magyars!

When in the year one thousand, St. Stephen, the first King of Hungary, and the first princely convert to the Christian religion, undertook to bring his people into the new faith, "he found it no easy task:"

"They quoted, as a proof of the political value of their religion, the energy, the good fortune, the unbroken prosperity of their fathers. They considered the proposed change as an apostacy, committed in cold blood, from the faith of the Magyar nation, involving a total renunciation of their sainted dead. The whole population clamored with filial fondness to the venerable worship handed down to them from the remotest ages. They openly resisted the authority, as they had argued against the example, of their respected sovereign. When pushed to extremities they seized their trusty weapons, fled to the rude groves of their ancestors, and resolved to die in defence of the old religion, mingling their heroic blood with the ashes of the departed."—*Teff's Book, page 64.*

But the monarch was finally successful; by military and other powers "he was triumphant, and the banner of the Cross was at once seen streaming upon the Hungarian breeze." And the same author tells us—"They had been coerced, not convinced."

You will see from this, sir, that if the Hungarians were ever Christians, the faith was *drubbed into them*, against their will; and with all due deference to their claims now to be Christians, I am satisfied, that *white horses* still play a conspicuous figure in this faith! But the richness of the thing is, that the descendant of this ancient people, a veritable Magyar, comes here to *teach Americans religion!* if not on a *white horse*, at least on a *high horse!* a horse so high, sir, that all the equeries of New York have not been able to get hold of his stirrups so as to let Peter get down!

But, to be serious, Mr. Speaker. In the same book from which I have quoted, I learn that one of Kossuth's objects is to beat down the *Catholic religion*. "The Hungarians were not

and promptly. If that party had been in power in 1848, our whole influence would then have been effectively exerted to maintain the *republics* of Hungary and Rome; but now and hereafter, such will be the rapid progress of correct opinion on the question of non-intervention, that any Administration will find it dangerous to resist the almost unanimous demand of our people, that in any future contest between Hungary and Austria, "fair play" shall be shown to the advocates of free institutions.

"It is necessary that the friends of Hungary should now consider the best means of affording practical aid. The people can act now—*arms and money can be given at once; we need not wait for Government.* It may be difficult for the Government to move until the contest has begun, and a case shall be presented requiring and justifying its interference. But in the mean time a public opinion may be matured which the Government need only follow and obey to place the *United States foremost on the plains of Europe*, among the *ADVANCED GUARD* of the republican movement."

This will do very well for Stamm, Bang & Co.; but will any Democratic candidate for President indorse the doctrine here announced?

In order to offset this Democratic appropriation of Kossuth, Mr. Webster, (always eager to push the welcome resolutions through Congress—putting Mr. Foote forward early in the session, for the purpose,) as soon as the resolution is in a condition to be sent, dispatches his Chief Clerk to Kossuth, with the resolution, and a private confidential letter. And Kossuth, on his part, is determined to hang on to the skirts of the Secretary of State. In his Bar speech, he makes Mr. Webster the father of his new doctrine of non-intervention:

"I answer by the very words of one of the most distinguished members of your profession, gentlemen, the present honorable Secretary of State. 'The United States, as a nation, have precisely the same interest in international law as a private individual has in the laws of his country.'

"He was a member of the Bar who advanced that principle of eternal justice against the mere fact of policy. Now he is in the position to carry out that principle which he has advanced. I confidently trust he will be as good as his word."

Is it possible that Daniel Webster can mistake the clamor raised by the *Tribune* and *Herald*, and their kindred tribe of seditious presses, with the dinner and banquet developments in favor of Kossuth, for the demonstration of the real opinion of the masses of the people of this country? When the "*Journal of Commerce*," the "*New York Express*," the "*Commercial Advertiser*," the "*Evening Mirror*," and the "*Courier and Enquirer*," the leading respectable journals of the city of New York, are open against the monstrous propositions of Kossuth, we may safely conclude, that even in New York Kossuth is in a minority—a minority whose turbulence may possibly give it the appearance of a majority.

But Governor Marcy is throwing General Cass and Mr. Douglas in the shade. He presided at a Kossuth meeting in Albany; and on taking the chair, "made an eloquent and appropriate speech, indorsing the principle of non-intervention (as avowed by Kossuth) and sympathy for Hungary; and urging the active coöperation of the people in making that principle and sympathy felt and acknowledged."

But we notice in the *UNION* of the 23d, a little backsliding remark: "Upon this occasion (the Bar dinner) Kossuth appears to have stated the whole scope of his mission to the United States in terms more unguarded and UNWARRANTABLE than we have before known him to use."

This will give Governor Marcy a chance to get out; for, at the time he indorsed Kossuth, he did not seem to be aware of the WAR DOCTRINE which Kossuth has openly avowed.



only to give political freedom to those countries, but they were destined to become the champions of the *Protestant religion*, and to bring about the *downfall of Papal Rome*." (Page 1, *Tefft's Book*.) "I saw, as all men saw, that republican principles and the *Protestant religion*, in the whole south of Europe, would rise or fall with these brave defenders of the Truth." (Ib. 2.)

I refer to these extracts, Mr. Speaker, in order to inquire, if freedom of religious opinion is not one of the corner stones of our institutions? I ask if it is proper in the Congress of the United States, by its assembled wisdom, in solemn form, to say to this man, "Come here—stir us up, in order that we may superintend secret expeditions against Austria; come here and feast, and harangue our mobs. Come! *teach us politics*, and interfere in questions of religion also?" Shall we say this? Sir, our notion of religious liberty is derived from the Pilgrim Fathers—was founded upon the Rock of Plymouth—and is diffused through all our institutions, so that the humblest log-cabin in the Far West, if dedicated to Christian worship, is as sacred in the eyes of the law as the lordliest cathedral in the Eastern world. And yet, you invite this man to come here to carry on his crusade on the subjects of religion. Crusade! A word that reminds us of the days of chivalry; and if we would yield a moment to the false appearances of this day, we might say that Burke was wrong when he exclaimed "The days of chivalry are gone." The apostles of this man have proclaimed him to this country as another *Peter the Hermit*. He says of himself, in his Birmingham speech, "*I come, as a cry of alarm, to unite the nations of the earth.*"\* Now, I am willing to acknowledge, that Kossuth must be a man of eloquence. I am perfectly satisfied of that fact. I have read his speeches with great admiration, mixed up with a little indignation, and that opinion I have expressed. But allow me to say that these speeches are mere rhapsodies, and not arguments. I am not a man to turn my eyes from the face of genius. Wherever it exists, whatever may be its sentiments, I love to look upon it, because I know that in the face of genius there is the image of God. I am willing to say, that Kossuth possesses all the charms to make him a most accomplished and engaging man, and I should consider it my misfortune if he should pass Washington without my seeing him. I do not think, however, that even with such a personation, the idea of a mission like that of Peter the Hermit will be tolerated in this country. What was the object of Peter's mission? It was to raise an innumerable army to fight in the cause of religion. He was said to be a man of exceeding eloquence, as no doubt he must have been, to have produced such a wonderful effect. But have we any use for him now? Are we anxious to be instructed by some Eastern monk? Why, sir, we have enough orators at home—men born in the West—cradled in the wilderness, where everything around them is grand; and where men grow with grandeur surrounding them, they cannot help being orators. If we want any Peter, we do not want him from the East. We want *Peter the Hunter*, from the West.

"Westward the star of empire takes its way."

I will make another observation, and that is in reference to the idea of establishing republican governments in Europe. New governments are continually rising and falling in the East. Have they not been trying to establish republican governments there for the last thousand years? Have they ever succeeded? And why not? Because of their antiquities, and their monuments breathing, smacking, and smelling of nobility and royalty; and because half of the people are *pretendents*. Where that state of society exists, one man will always want to be superior to another, and the idea of human agrarianism is a mere absurdity. Look at the present condition of France. What a mockery upon republican institutions! Having driven out her King—having achieved the first step—having done all that was necessary, she could not take a common name for her President. She had to take a princely name—a name connected with royal and princely blood. What a mockery! What chance would such a republican name as Jones, Davis, Johnson, Thompson, or *Smith* have [laughter] of being President of republican France? I tell you, Mr. Speaker, that Republics exist where God has so ordained, and nowhere else; and all your sympathy for eastern Republics is thrown upon the water, without the virtue of the *bread*. Republics exist where men are born free—where there are no monuments of royalty—where there are no antiquities, no heraldries to remind one of the superior origin of his blood. No Republic can exist for a long period of time in their true character, where the monuments of the country are indelibly connected with nobility and royalty; but they shall exist in the Western hemisphere, where God's *anointed king has never placed his foot*. There is no regal atmosphere here. There are no histories, no heraldries, no songs to inspire us with the idea that one man shall be superior to another. As long as that state of things exists, we will be free. But in the course of time—I trust it will be thousands of years hence—by some accident of nature, we may be blotted out, and this which is now the Western abiding place of liberty, may be the Eastern home of kings; and the Eastern land, by some freak of nature, may be covered up, and these monuments of regality and nobility may be buried, and the places hallowed by the footsteps of kings may be thousands of feet under the earth. Then, and not till then, will there be a genuine republican government on the Eastern continent. Now, I say

\*The attention of the southern members of Congress is invited to the following resolution, passed at a recent meeting of the members and friends of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society:

"Resolved, That the Convention recommend to the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society to prepare an address for presentation to Louis Kossuth, expressive of sympathy with him in his heroic devotion to the cause of human freedom; and of earnest hope that his herculean labors in this behalf, will conduce to the overthrow of oppression not in Hungary alone, but in the United States, and throughout the world."

It is unquestionably true that the mass of the Kossuth meetings, everywhere, is composed of rampant fanatics—religious and political.

that all your sympathy is thrown away, and all your fighting for a man struggling to be a head of a republic in the East, is but to elevate a prince into places of power, in order that he may oppress his serfs, and be the petty tyrant of the day. The present Republic of France is but the nursery of new Robespierres and Dantons, whose days of blood are not far off!\*

For myself, and for the American people, I can safely say, that we cannot look with indifference on the struggles which arise between freedom and oppression in any quarter of the earth. Our sympathies are warmed, our enthusiasm is kindled when we hear of the triumph of liberty over tyranny. We rejoice in revolutions tending to overthrow monarchies, without pausing to inquire into the causes, or to look to the end; hoping and believing that the fall of a tyrant or king contributes its mite to the establishment of freedom. And in the expressions of these sentiments and feelings we are clamorous and loud and forward, so that the nations of the earth are surprised, that when the "tug of war" comes we are seen, afar off, standing upon our own high promontories of liberty, merely looking on and shouting. To those expressions of surprise I answer: PATRIOTISM is always cold, cold, except to its own country! It is warm only by the blazing fires of its home affections, and kindled at the altar of ALLEGIANCE to the CONSTITUTION! God save the Constitution for the wisdom which created it, and for the policies which have sustained, perfected and preserved it!

\* This sentiment in reference to FRANCE, was uttered on the 15th December, and by the last advices from that country, received on the 20th, five days after this speech was delivered, we have this mournful intelligence. FRANCE.—The news from Paris is of the most important and exciting character, and is regarded as the commencement of a new state of governmental affairs for France.

A coup d'état was made by President Napoleon on the 2d instant of the most bold and important character. He seized the reins of government and dissolved the Assembly, declaring Paris in a state of siege, appealing directly to the people to sustain him in his movement to arrest the monarchical tendencies of the Assembly.

The President's arrangements had been made with consummate skill and secrecy during the night of the 1st instant. The whole thing was done before the public had the least intimation of the event.

A new ministry was formed, and a proclamation issued restoring universal suffrage, and proposing a new system of government, with the instant election by the people and army of a President to hold office for ten years, supported by a Council of State and two Houses of Legislature.

At daylight, on Tuesday morning, the President's proclamation was found posted throughout the city, in which he ordered the immediate dispersion of the Assembly, with his plan for a new form of government. The election for a President is to take place during the present month, and the President promises to bow to the will of the people.

Everything was consummated before the Assembly had the least idea of the intention of the President, and an entire new ministry having been formed during the night.

Pending the election, the President proposes that the executive powers remain in his hands. He says that he had been forced into his present position by the course of his opponents in the Assembly; and it is certain that Thiers, Changarnier, and others of his opponents, had decided to demand his arrest and impeachment on the instant, and were almost in the act of moving in the matter, when they and their principal friends were arrested and conveyed to Vincennes.

Whenever the members of the Assembly have attempted to meet officially they have been ordered to disperse and were arrested if they refused. Two hundred members of the Assembly had been arrested, and many subsequently released; but all the leaders of the Opposition were in prison.

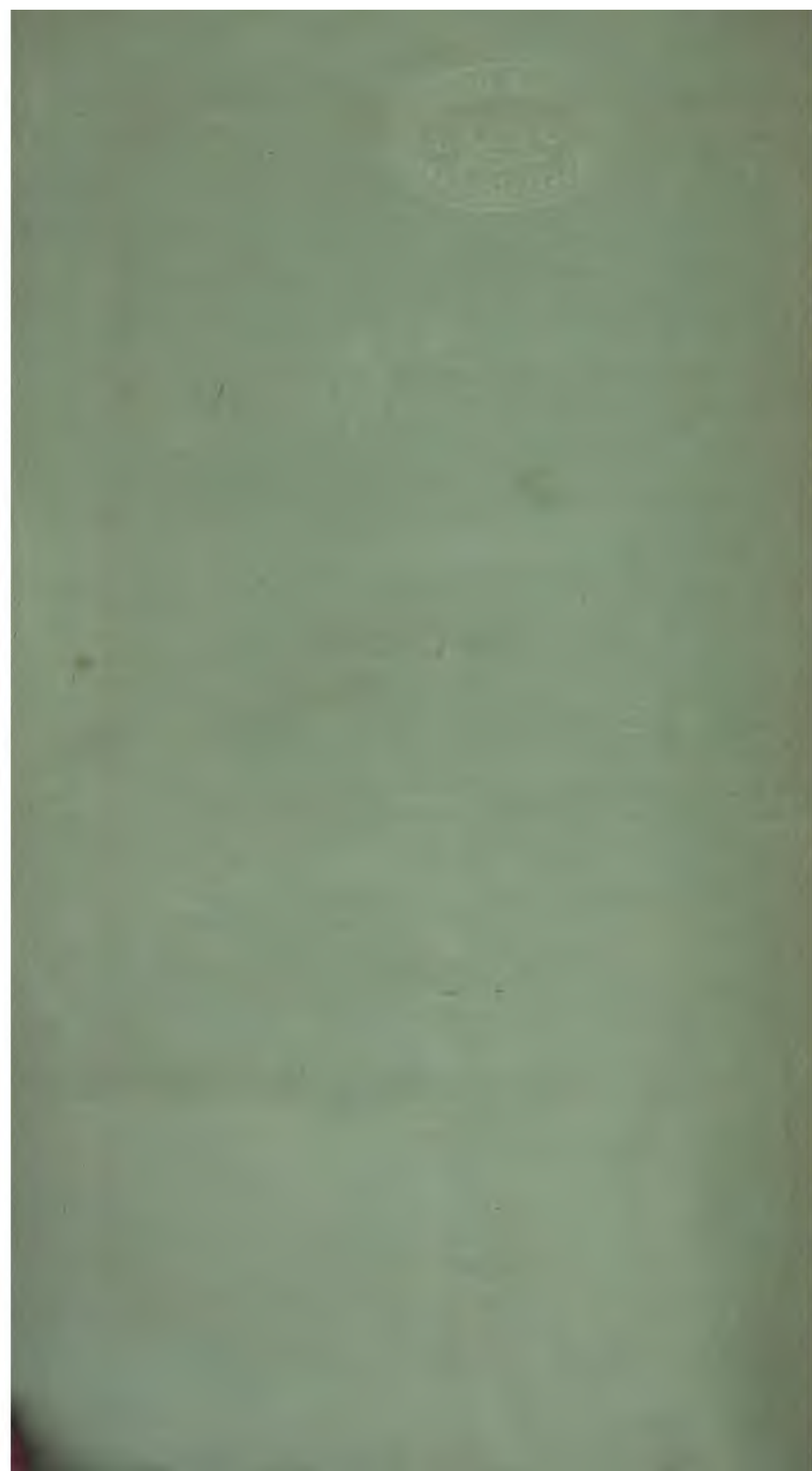
Three hundred of the members of the Assembly, it is said, had given in their adhesion to the President, and telegraphic dispatches from the departments state that the President's demonstration had been hailed with the utmost enthusiasm. Subsequently these reports were contradicted, and several barricades erected in different quarters of Paris, but were speedily broken down by the troops.

At one of these barricades two members of the Assembly, occupying prominent places, were killed in the conflict.

On Tuesday a section of the Assembly contrived to meet, and decreed the deposition of the President and his impeachment for high treason. The meeting was dispersed by the troops, and the decree ridiculed on all sides. Troops had been stationed in the houses of M. Dupin and other ex-officers of the Assembly, who had been exempted from arrest.

The full rigor of martial law had been proclaimed against all concerned in the barricades, and a large number had been shot.







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REVIEW

OF

# DR. BOARDMAN'S ADDRESS

AGAINST

## KOSSUTH:

A LECTURE DELIVERED IN THE UNION PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,  
PHILADELPHIA, TUESDAY EVENING, MARCH 9, 1852,

BY W. L. M<sup>c</sup>CALLA.

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Philadelphia:

WILLIAM S. YOUNG, PRINTER,—50 NORTH SIXTH STREET.

1852.



1852 Dec 9

Gift of Ben Charles Sumner to  
from Boston

## PREFACE.

PERMISSION is asked to state that I was incidentally discussing the question of intervention, before Dr. Boardman delivered his address. If he was right, I was bound to confess my error; if wrong, I was bound to show it. That Washington's warning to our infant republic against intervening between the two devils of popery and atheism, absolutism and anarchy in France, was correct, is not denied by any. But it was beyond the ken of Washington, or any uninspired man, to tell what subsequent events might occur, or might require.

This is admitted by one of those administrations to which Dr. Boardman appeals for the contrary. As reported by Wheaton's *Elements of International Law*, page 109, on the destruction of the Spanish republic by the allied powers, our government says, "*To what extent such interpositions might be carried, on the same principle, was a question on which all independent powers, whose governments differed from theirs, were interested; even those most remote, and none more so than the United States.*" As "such interpositions," "on the same principle," are now being carried to the utmost possible "*extent,*" our being among the "most remote," does not keep us from being as much "*interested,*" as Turkey or Prussia, according to this position of our own Washingtonian government.


The intervention of France for the security of this continent is not the only one of the kind for which Washington's followers are fairly answerable. The "*History of England, during the Thirty Years' Peace,*" after mentioning the plan of a French intervention against liberty on this continent, says, "Here was the principle and procedure of the Holy Alliance openly proposed for the coercion of the South American people. They were to live, not under such government as they might prefer, but under such as the rulers of Europe should impose upon them for their good."

As this was to inure to the acquisition of French, and not to the restoration of English power, in America, Canning, in the name of his government, said, "We will not interfere with Spain, in any attempt which she may make to reconquer what were once her colo-

nies; but *we will not permit any third power* to attack or reconquer them for her." This was one of the proudest days of Canning's life: and it is to the honour of our country, that, as we approved and backed it, in accordance with the teachings of Washington, we are answerable for such a glorious act.

The successors and admirers of Washington, therefore, are responsible for just European intervention in behalf of North and South America, and for their own voluntary position, that when unjust intervention against liberty in Europe is carried to its present *extent*, our government has as great an *interest* in that fact, and as great a right and obligation to act in Europe as any European power.

But if these things were not so, our position is unaltered, because my review demurs to the jurisdiction of Washington, or his successors, or his expositors, and appeals to higher authority than any or all of them.

 The Old School "Presbyterian" is out moderately, and Dr. Hodge of Princeton, strongly, on the right side: and the following gratifying document speaks for itself:

"We are among the clergy of Philadelphia who visited the illustrious Kossuth while passing through our city. Our sentiments respecting him and his cause, as then expressed, remain unchanged. We are gratified that the Rev. Wm. L. McCalla has undertaken to defend the exiled chief.

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## LECTURE.

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In the eastern part of Europe, a people originally from Asia have, for the last millenium, maintained orderly self-government, long before history entertained the names of the blessed Puritans, Covenanters and Huguenots, who brought the elements of orderly self-government to the American continent. This remarkable statement we do not feel bound to prove, after the public, undisputed declarations of Secretary Webster on the subject. Like Ireland, they are divided into Papists and Protestants, the former of which European diplomacy persuaded to betray the latter. Egyptian taskmasters have made them repent this folly, and long to recover their former liberty. The God of Gustavus Adolphus, Oliver Cromwell, William of Orange, and George Washington, raised up a Christian hero; and after bringing him through the fiery furnace of hardship in Hungary, and temptation in Turkey, sent him forth to prepare the Protestant world for the onslaught which popery and despotism are about to make upon their religion and liberty.

The warning voice is needed, by the death and decomposition of the reformation. The doctrines of its churches have given way to transcendentalism and Puseyism. The piety, fidelity, and magnanimity of its princes have given way to selfishness, ambition, and treachery. Dr. Merle D'Aubigné justly says that there is not now a protestant prince on earth. Even the specious king of Prussia and the popular queen of England have broken their oaths, so as to favour popery and wrong their protestant subjects.

During the discussion of the *omnibus* compromise in Congress, Senator Webster proved that the characteristic burden of that measure was originally considered, by all parties, to be an evil yoke, imposed upon the reluctant neck of the country. Since that time, the rise of cotton and the decline of religion have been so great that Governor M'Duffie declared



trust the honest Magyar with the command of the numerous hordes which they are now pouring upon our shores, to take possession of our country and congress, of our army and navy, as Cardinal Hughes says they will?

If Kossuth had come to take possession of Dr. Boardman's holy sepulchre, at Washington, he would have brought with him a couple of stones, to represent Lutheranism and democracy. Who could set bounds to the wrath which that would have roused? But as the regular successor of the rock Peter has only sent over his lapidary representatives of popery and despotism, the Doctor's equanimity is not disturbed, except by the great martyr of protestant liberty, whom he equals to Absalom and Peter the Hermit, the one a type and the other a tool of Antichrist.

All this the Doctor professes to do as a Protestant, Calvinistic, Presbyterian minister, of the Simon Pure Old School party; whose conscience binds him to guard religion and morality against this destroyer of society. And by what test or standard, law or rule, does he propose to convict the great offender? Is it by the inspired code, the protestant rule of faith and practice? Is it by the law of nations,—the law of nature and of nature's God, recognised in our Declaration of Independence? The volume of his address endeavours to adhere strictly to the text of the title-page, "*The new Doctrine of Intervention Tried by the Teachings of Washington.*"

Although the European Washington has evidently studied, understood, approved, loved and practised the teachings of the American Washington, yet it is probable that he never expected to be tried by them, in matters of religion and morality; and still less did he expect that a presbyterian apotheosis would place an American general on that throne which the Roman pontiff has usurped.

It is true that Washington was the Father of his country, but if we must be tried by a man, I would rather choose Abraham, the father of the faithful; especially as the history of that patriarch contains a parallel case. Four lawless invaders, corresponding with the sovereigns of France and Prussia, Austria and Russia, treated the defenceless tribes of the plain as these sovereigns of Europe have treated their neighbours. "And there came one that had escaped [like Kossuth,] and told Abraham the Hebrew." Did the teachings of Abraham condemn the religion and morality of the messenger, and pronounce him a type and a tool of Antichrist? Instead of that, he collected his nomadic band, and those of the united states of Eshcol and Aner, who "were



*confederate* with Abraham," and pursued the Cossacks to the neighbourhood of Damascus, where he treated them as Washington treated somebody else; and brought back the captives and their property. It was well for Abraham that Dr. Boardman was not then the priest of Salem; for instead of blessing him, and giving him bread and wine, I am afraid the Doctor would have cursed him, and given him gall and wormwood.

But, as the Doctor has followed the Cardinal in trying men's religion and morality by an apocryphal, uninspired rule, so has he also in claiming the exclusive interpretation of the rule, by which he can easily make the teachings of Washington the teachings of Boardman, as the interpretation of the Cardinal transubstantiates the law of Christ into the law of Antichrist. And here the two worthies come into collision, for while Dr. Boardman interprets him into a quaker, the Cardinal interprets him into a pope. In a public lecture, on Pope Pius VII., he proved to the satisfaction of the faithful, that he and the American hero were precisely alike; and upon that ground he most sweetly claimed him for the papists, and called him "our own Washington." If the high contending parties would allow me the exercise of *private judgment*, I would say that they do not differ so much from one another as they both differ from Washington.

But while the Dr. thinks it the height of presumption for the Governor of Hungary to interpret the American chief, he does not think it presumptuous in a Philadelphia preacher to interpret the Hungarian chief. His claims do not even culminate here. He exercises the right of judging the Hungarian nation; and of showing that a people who would choose such a governor as Kossuth, have hardly the necessary qualifications for self-government.

This is an opinion which he is about to establish concerning the people of the United States, on account of the high esteem in which the stranger is held among us. His published address appears to contain some of the proofs of such a conclusion. The ignorant impudence of Cardinal Hughes's Galwegians, Corkonians and Fardowns could never maintain a regular and prosperous self-government. The Doctor intimates that we who admire Kossuth have something very much like this ignorant impudence. He boldly proves, that for us to reject his interpretation of Washington "requires a very *high degree of assurance*," and shows that "we are certainly below the average mental capacity of the human family." Moreover, Don Quixote was not only a knight errant, but he was *crazed*, and Sancho was nearly ditto. Now such

people were very little better qualified for self-government than Rozinante and Dapple. The Doctor has us here also! The address shows that however numerous and respectable the followers of Kossuth may be, they are led by an "illusive *knight-errantry*," and the cheers of approbation come "from masses *crazed* by the sorcery of his eloquence."

Whenever I get old enough to play infallible dictator, I mean to turn the tables upon these gentlemen, and settle the law, that a Doctor and a Cardinal who can interpret Washington into a terrapin coward, or a double-faced tyrant, have too much assurance, ignorance or craziness, to vote for a constable.

In order to frighten us into the delirium tremens of his imaginary Washington, the Doctor talks affectingly of—the question of peace or war—the eloquent Magyar—his convocations like a burning prairie—war, with its ensanguined horrors, following in its train—the great Serbonian bog, 'twixt Damietta and Mount Casius, where armies whole have sunk—partisans to create dissensions, disturb the public tranquillity, and destroy, perhaps for ever, the cement which binds the union!!!

Having had considerable acquaintance with gentlemen who speak this dialect, I will endeavour to give an intelligible translation to what I have just read. It is as follows. "Unless we treat Kossuth as Dr. Boardman and the papists desire, and extinguish the burning prairies of enthusiastic and practical sympathy shown to him, all the croziers and cocks of Rome and France, and the bears and black eagles of Russia and Austria, shall sup upon our carcasses, and southern senators, like Rhett and Clemens, shall pick the bones, and Messrs. Hughes and Boardman shall bury them deep in the Serbonian bog, a dreadful purgatory, to which Milton and Washington consign all revolutionary democrats and their abettors, according to the decision of their infallible interpreter."

This way of denouncing the apostle of liberty in the name of Washington and Milton, is too much like the Cardinal's cursing Christians in the name of Peter and Paul. As the Jews built tombs to the dead prophets, while they killed the living ones, so some Doctors and Cardinals canonize the dead Washington and anathematize the living one. It is for their real merits that we admire both: and we conscientiously believe that if they were both alive, they would admire and love each other.

We believe the same of Milton and his friend Cromwell, who harmoniously acted upon the principles which Kossuth



advocates; as Headley tells us, when they received "the news of the persecutions in the valley of Piedmont. Six catholic regiments, three of which were Irish," such catholics as are imported here by shiploads, "were appointed to drive the Vaudois from their homes in mid winter," as they drove the Bible-reading Hungarians from their shanties, in Michigan. "The cruelties, the inhuman barbarity, that marked the proceedings against the poor protestants, are well known." But St. Haynau & Co. have endeavoured to renew them in Hungary, with the hearty concurrence of Cardinal Hughes and his holy savages. "When the news of the atrocities reached Cromwell," did he say of their author as the *micropneumatic* Senator Clemens said of the Russian butcher, "he is our good friend?" Did he, like Dr. Boardman, tremble at Milton's bog? "He burst into tears. They were the saints of God who thus suffered, and all his compassion was roused within him."

"On that day he was to sign the treaty with France, which had for a long time been under contemplation. But he immediately refused, declaring that negotiations should proceed no farther, until the king and Mazarin, the prime minister, would pledge themselves to assist him in saving the Vaudois protestants." This political intervention the noble-hearted protestant accorded to Christian sufferers, in addition to the utmost pecuniary assistance which he could afford.

Dr. Boardman tells us that if Kossuth's solicitations had been confined to the latter object, "he would have had the whole country at his feet, and *material aid* would have flowed in upon him, not, as now, in dribblets, but in a generous flood." This is the very sort of application which was made to the Doctor by an eminent Irish clergyman, who solicited material aid for elevating and enlightening, in popish Ireland, the perishing victims of priestly rapacity and oppression. The Doctor knows how much he gave him.

Some men who aim at being perfect oracles, go upon the plan that if the heart should feel, the head will surely reel. They have such a *crazyphobia*, that to avoid undue excitement in the cause of suffering humanity, they import their sympathies from Siberia. This makes them wiser than the priest, who would give his blessing, though he would not give a groat. Governor Kossuth and Dr. Dill got neither a groat nor a blessing. But a redeeming act of dignified magnanimity and benevolence must not be hidden under a bushel. An amiable Swedish girl, wishing to do some good, and make a fortune, and get a husband, obtained the Doctor's countenance and cash. His dignity enabled him to resist "the syren

"I have said to you and to his son - now say (what you



strains" of the Hungarian, and the pathetic appeals of the Irishman: but the nightingale song of the Swede was too much for mortal man.

The countenance and cash of Oliver Cromwell received another direction, as the martyrs of Jesus could attest. "He gave two thousand pounds from his private purse towards relieving their wants, and appointed Milton, yes, *Milton!* to write letters to the several European powers, *invoking their aid.*" To such an appointment Dr. Boardman would have replied with the indignant question of his address, "*Does the man think we are demented?*" Selfishness and fear think magnanimity madness. But this was the glorious element in which Milton lived. "The noble bard entered with all the zeal and enthusiasm of his great master into the work. A day of fasting and humiliation was appointed, and a collection ordered to be taken in all the churches. The contribution amounted to over £37,000, showing how deeply protestant England was stirred by the persecution of the Piedmontese Christians."

The reason why Kossuth was accused of thinking us demented was, that we were represented by him as "raising our gigantic arm in a commanding attitude to say to the Russian bear, 'KEEP BACK!' and to the Czar, 'HANDS OFF!'" Christians and politicians of the crab school, who move backward instead of forward, can muster goblins enough to frighten from any duty. "It is said that Cromwell, in a burst of passion, replied to some obstacles that were mentioned as interfering with his plans, that *he would sail his ships over the Alps, but that he would put a stop to the persecution.*" "War with France, nay with the whole world, if necessary, he would wage; but this persecution of the children of God should cease." It was not his madness but his faith that carried him through, and made him a protector to the innocent from the cruel papists. He even compelled the popish Mazarin, who, in fact, ruled France, to accomplish the work; "for he stood in deadly fear of Cromwell. It is said that he always turned pale when he heard his name mentioned."

"Oliver was the champion of protestantism the world over, and he wished it so understood. He would defend it wherever his arm could reach." When the iron hand of popish violence was laid upon the protestants of Nismes in France, Cromwell directed his ambassador at Paris to obtain their relief or to leave the kingdom without delay. The thing was done, although "Mazarin shuffled and complained of the haughty and imperious course of the Protector: but (as it was currently reported,) 'he was more afraid of him than of the devil.'"



In our day the French papists destroyed the Bible-reading republic of Rome. Can any one doubt what protestant England ought to have done, and what Cromwell would have done in such a case? This is a case which Dr. Boardman takes up, and he makes a supposition "that a British army had landed at Civita Vecchia, and protected the Triumvirate in carrying into effect the expressed wishes of the nation for a change of Government. What course," he then asks, "would the new enactment [of Kossuth] have imposed upon the other nations, and ourselves as one of them? Why, that we should intervene to resist England."

Although this looks as if the Doctor's logic had nothing left but the sediment, I would say, that in attributing to Kossuth a *new enactment* of international law, he has said what he has never proved, and what no intelligent judge will believe. This passage asserts that we are as much bound to oppose a righteous intervention on the part of England, as an unrighteous one on the part of France. Is this irony? None but an unprincipled infidel would seriously say this for himself, and none but a calumniator would say it of Kossuth. An atheist may say that there is no difference between justice and injustice. A socialist may say that we are no more bound to execute a murderer than to execute the sheriff who hangs him. But Kossuth is a religious man, and not a moral monster. He appeals to the old law of nations, and imposes no new enactments. His cause is built upon order, and not confusion; upon justice, and not caprice. Vattel says "Justice is the basis of all society, the sure bond of all intercourse." "The obligation imposed on all men to be just, is easily demonstrated from the law of nature." "All nations are therefore under a strict obligation to cultivate *justice* towards each other, to observe it scrupulously, and carefully to abstain from every thing that may violate it." "He who assists an odious tyrant, he who declares for an unjust and rebellious people, violates his duty."

This is the grave morality of international law as held by the parties litigant. In its application to Rome and France, Dr. Boardman will not differ from Kossuth and Mazzini. They all hold that Rome had a right to establish her own free government. They all hold that France had no right to restore an intolerable despotism. Two of them believe that it was the duty of the queen, as it would have been the work of Cromwell, to say to the French cock, "STAND BACK!" and to the French coward, "HANDS OFF!"

Of this there is unequivocal historical evidence, in reference

to the very port of Civita Vecchia, embodied in Dr. Boardman's supposition. In relation to the martyrs already mentioned, Headley says, "Not content with the efforts he had put forth for the Piedmontese, he (Cromwell) sent a messenger to the duke of Savoy, remonstrating against his conduct. He also took pains to let the Pope understand that he knew him to be at the bottom of the unnatural persecution, and if he did not beware, he should see his ships in the harbour of Civita Vecchia, and hear the thunder of his cannon around the Vatican. In all his treaties he made the rights of the protestants an indispensable article."

Is it any wonder that worldly politicians dispense with such articles now-a-days? We are sold to our enemies, and our leading clergyman pours oceans of scorn upon the great advocate of our liberty, and all who adhere to him. The treachery of the governments against the body of Christ is as decided as that of Judas against the Head of that body. This is manifest, even to men of questionable piety. In defending the protector from the charge of hypocrisy, Headley says, "It were desirable if English rulers of the present day would exhibit something of this hypocrisy. They will see Poland dismembered—Tahiti invaded by catholics—Switzerland threatened with the legions of despots, and be content with a little bluster, a grave remonstrance or two, but never interpose their strength between the persecuted and the persecutors. Cromwell *might* have done the same; and if he had been as *selfish* and politic as modern sovereigns are, he *would*." Instead of this, "the terror of his name became every where a shield for the persecuted Christians, and he was always remembered by them in their morning and evening devotions."

These prayers of all God's suffering people showed that in that day of trial, the protestant world had but one heart, and that heart was for Cromwell and liberty; because he was so devoted to the two great and inseparable blessings of religion and liberty. In relation to the commencement of his military life, Dr. Merle d'Aubigné says, "For the space of seventeen years, from this day until that of his death, all his thoughts, however well or ill conceived, were for *protestantism and for the liberty of his fellow citizens*." "This was his ruling principle; and this alone explains his whole life." "There was a great work to be accomplished; no less than the settlement of England upon its double foundations of *protestantism and liberty*; for on these depended her future destinies."

Notwithstanding the encouragement which clerical lukewarmness gives to political corruption, in its endeavours to



separate these two blessings which God has joined together, few candid politicians would probably quarrel with Headley's opinion, that, "but for Cromwell's efforts and success, it is very doubtful whether the puritans on this side of the water would have ventured on a contest with the mother country. At all events, the great questions of constitutional and personal liberty which he settled, have been the foundation of every revolution for the emancipation of man, which has since taken place."

All these most important facts concerning the origin of our civil, religious, and political liberty, are indissolubly connected with the legitimate principle of intervention found in Vattel and Kossuth's "syren strains."

The union of Bible religion, constitutional liberty, and just intervention, is also very conspicuous in Macauley's favourite occupant of the English throne. He was the impersonation of the intervention advocated by Kossuth and Vattel. Permit me to give you the last two brushes of Dr. Merle's pencil, when giving a portrait of those stirring times. He paints "seven Anglican bishops who had protested against these encroachments, conveyed to the tower through crowds of people who fell on their knees as they passed, and who, when these patriots were acquitted by the jury, lighted up bonfires in every part of the city, and burnt the Pope in effigy. William of Orange landing on the coast of Devonshire, on the 5th of November, 1688, with the English flag waving at the mast head of his ships, and bearing this inscription: THE PROTESTANT RELIGION AND LIBERTIES OF ENGLAND."

This most conspicuous historical fact, which no protestant can ever cease to cherish, is embodied, expressly or by implication, in more than one of Vattel's statements, which some modern clergymen and politicians may find it difficult to digest. He says, "Religion is, in every sense, an object of great importance to a nation, and one of the most interesting subjects on which the government can be employed. An independent people are accountable for their religion to God alone. In this particular, as in every other, they have a right to regulate their conduct according to the dictates of their own conscience, and to prevent all foreign interference in an affair of so delicate a nature." "When, however, we see a party inflamed with deadly hatred against the religion we profess, and a neighbouring prince persecuting in consequence the professors of that religion, it is lawful for us to give assistance to the sufferers."

This rule was clearly recognised by James the First, whose

descendant, James the Second, justly perished by it, when William's glorious banner of "The protestant religion and liberties of England" was raised among them. A king of France was solicited to tolerate his protestant subjects; to which he answered that he was master in his own kingdom. The word *master* in this haughty answer is embodied in one of Vattel's statements of the Kossuth doctrine. I think that the *solicitor* was William of Orange, and the proud *solicitee* was Louis XIV. Those were times very much like the present.

Vattel says, "But the protestant sovereigns, who saw a general conspiracy of the catholics, obstinately bent on their destruction, were so far *masters* on their side, as to be at liberty to give assistance to a body of men who might strengthen their party, and help them to preserve themselves from the ruin with which they were threatened. All distinctions of states and nations are to be disregarded when there is a question of forming a coalition against a set of *madmen* who would exterminate all those that do not implicitly receive their doctrines."

Thus, while Dr. Boardman finds *madmen* among Kossuth's admirers only, Vattel plants them with him and Cardinal Hughes. The passage in which Vattel expressly refers to the struggle between William and James is the following: "But if the prince, *by violating the fundamental laws*, gives his subjects a *legal right to resist him*,—if *tyranny becoming insupportable*, obliges the nation to rise in their own defence,—every foreign power *has a right to succour an oppressed people who implore their assistance*. The English *justly* complained of James II. The nobility and the most distinguished patriots, having determined to check him in the prosecution of his schemes, which manifestly tended to *overthrow the constitution*, and to *destroy the liberties and the religion* of the people, applied for assistance to the United Provinces. The authority of the prince of Orange had, doubtless, an influence on the deliberations of the states-general; but it did not lead them to the commission of *an act of injustice*: for when a people, *from good reasons*, take up arms against an oppressor, it is but *an act of justice and generosity to assist brave men* in the defence of their liberties."

As religion, liberty and intervention, in a just cause, were so highly characteristic of Oliver and William, so they were of Gustavus Adolphus, the lion of the north, and the champion of the protestant religion; a title at which the author of the address would sneer. He sarcastically says, "Henceforth our government becomes a *grand collegium de propaganda li-*



*bertale*, and we go on to our destiny as the liberators of the world! Is it not humiliating that, with multitudes of our countrymen, *badinage* like this should be sober prose?"

Here the Doctor scoffs at certain desires and hopes of Kossuth's friends, and applies to them a handsome French word for *foolery*: but on his last two pages he adopts the *foolery*, by expressing in other words the same desires and hopes for himself and his friends. His admitting that such language is *badinage*, presents another feature of resemblance between him and his fellow warriors. Commodore Brownson, in a lecture which I heard, laughingly admitted that much of the flattery given by popish orators to the common people on great public occasions, was mere *glorification*, *nyther* more, *nyther* less. *Glorification* was his elegant English for *foolery*. When we, in our own language, express a desire and hope that our free protestant country may be useful to the world, we mean it for neither *glorification* nor *badinage*.

But the Dr. has contradicted himself in far more important matters than this, in relation to history and doctrine, after noticing which, I shall beg leave to return to the college of propagandism which he has just now excavated. In endeavouring to give a dignified beating to the suffering exile, one of his impassioned interrogatories is, "Does his familiarity with history supply him with a solitary example of national folly and *insanity* at all comparable to that which this nation would present, should we accede to *his counsel*?"

This is one of several instances in which the Dr. divides the freemen of America into lunatics and lucids; the latter word meaning according to Webster, "bright with the radiance of intellect, not darkened or confused by *delirium* or *madness*." Among the lunatics are all subjects of the Kossuth epidemic; such as ex-Vice President Dallas, ex-Secretary Walker, Judge Kane, Judge Kelley, and the pulpit, press and people; that is the "*masses crazed*," (as they are called,) in America; and the down-trodden lovers of religion and liberty in Europe.

Who are the lucids, who muster at the call of Dr. Boardman's bugle? Not General Foote, of the south, nor myriads like him, but those who believe that cotton and the things that make it are the "corner-stone of democracy," and the "cement of the union;" and who would rather have a thirty years' war with our free government, than strike one stroke for the liberty of Europe.

The character of the free-soilers is becoming rather suspected, but the Doctor can safely certify that the atheistical Garrison abolitionists are *compotes mentis*, as they have joined



in his denunciations of the European Washington. With them America can boast a Cardinal Hughes and his semi-human Corkonians and Fardowns; while in Europe he can claim Haynau with his whip for women, Georgey with his murderous treason, Batthyany with his bribe, and the princes and priests with their perjury.

As for our "Utopian heresy," the Dr. says, "it has its ecclesiastical prototype in the scheme of those zealous princes of the seventh and eighth centuries, who put themselves at the head of their regiments, and dragooned whole tribes of savages into the church." This sentence contains a very intelligible *affirmation*. The one which I have just commented on, contains a very intelligible *negation*, in the form of an impassioned interrogatory. They are both about the very same thing, called *Utopian heresy* in one, and *counsel of folly and insanity* in the other. In one he *affirms* that the history of the seventh and eighth centuries furnishes a *prototype*, a model, pattern or exemplar of Kossuth's error; and in the other he *peremptorily denies* that history supplies "*a solitary example*" of such an error. There is only one page between these two irreconcilable statements; and so great is the advantage of lucidity in these times, that while these two neighbouring statements contradict each other, the Doctor has contrived to make them both contradict historical verity.

The denial that history affords a solitary example of the intervention advocated by the pulpit, the press, and the people, has been already in part exposed. The glorious career of the Swedish lion in Germany contradicts it; Cromwell's ironsides and Blake's artillery contradict it. The Orange standard on British soil contradicts it. With the help of God, we hope to show that it is contradicted by the history of that original *Protest*, from which *Protestants* are named: and we envy not the spurious lucidity of that master in Israel who knows none of these things, and who would blot out the bright page of his people's history.

While his negation is unsound, his affirmation is no less so, in asserting that Charlemagne's scheme for converting savages by the sword is the *prototype* of our alleged heresy. The Doctor's own address proves that the pope and other potentates of Europe are now in the commencement of a war against light and liberty, the Bible and protestantism, and that they are converting men to popery by the sword. Has the European Washington come to advocate their cause? Do his admirers espouse their cause?

If Kossuth had come on such a mission, Dr. Boardman

could not consistently oppose him; for he made no perceivable opposition to a popular historical lecturer of high talents, who set forth Charlemagne as a hero and reformer, who gave civilization to Europe, and imposed a debt of gratitude upon mankind. He set forth Hildebrand as a saint, hero, and reformer, to whom we are similarly indebted; and he represented the licentious seducer and infidel Abelard as the father of the Lutheran reformation. For all this he was approved and applauded, and received material aid.

Did these things disturb Dr. Boardman's digestion? Did he stem the torrent? Did he then paint Charlemagne at the head of his regiments, dragooning whole tribes of savages into the church? Did he paint St. Hildebrand and Abelard convicted of numerous atrocities by popish testimony? He left it to a follower of Kossuth to inform the public that Charlemagne gave to the pope that power of evil which his imitator, now on the French throne, restored to him; and that Hildebrand raised that evil power to its culminating point.

Here was a tempter indeed: a pretended protestant recommending to crowded audiences these blackest birds of night, these demons of the dark ages, without ruffling the Doctor's dignity, and without eliciting the charge of *seduction*, which he iterates and reiterates against the honest, candid, noble advocate of human rights.

Professor Brownson did not rebuke the endorser of Hildebrand, because he also lectured in favour of the dark ages. Cardinal Hughes did not call him a humbug because it was a popish humbug under a protestant name. Bishop Conner did not call him a *tempter* because he was seducing protestants into the popish camp, as his prototype, Balaam, decoyed the Israelites into the camp of Midian. Dr. Boardman and all these brother lucids were most amiably tender towards a real *seducer*; but what a cry the whole pack raised when an honest man appeared on the field!

In all this iniquity Brownson, Hughes and Conner acted with some consistency: for it belongs to their religion to hate a lover of the Bible and of liberty. But Dr. Boardman's complicity in such a measure is not only condemned by his public creed, but by that very bull which has gathered the stranger and his friends into the noose of excommunication. In his address he does not profess to condemn the plan "proposed, simply to notify the cabinets of the world, that we shall regard any interference by one nation in the domestic concerns of another, as a breach of international law,—leaving it to be decided, as cases arise, whether to follow this declaration by protest, by an appeal to arms, or by nothing at all."



While he denies "an obligation to a constant exercise of that right" of interposition, in which he has no opponent, he says, "It is not denied, however, that *cases may arise in which intervention in this form [of stating the law to the cabinets,] and even with something more significant than parchment manifestoes, would be BOTH OUR RIGHT AND OUR DUTY.* If the United States occupied the territory which constitutes the domain of Turkey, or that of Prussia, *the very case which has occasioned the present crusade might have proved one of this description.* The question then would have been, *whether the law of self-protection did not require us to repel, by whatever means, the barbarous assault of Russia upon the liberties of Hungary.* Situated as we are, *our abstract right to interpose, should the same emergency occur a second time, may be conceded."*

Elsewhere, he says, "*Occasions may arise, however, to justify foreign intervention. The mere fact of intervention determines nothing as to its character; it may or may not be an infringement of international rights. In some cases it supplies a just cause of war on the part of other nations. In other cases it is so far from being a casus belli, that it imposes on other nations an obligation of gratitude to the "intervening nation, as being eminently conducive to the interests of humanity and constitutional liberty."* "Governments, too, must act on those common sense principles which control individuals in analogous circumstances. No prudent man ties up his hands against all possible interference in the family quarrels of his neighbours; still less pledges himself to fight other people if they interfere. As a general rule, interference would be wrong in morals, and practically mischievous. But if a man learned that his neighbour was *trying to murder his wife or children, he would be likely to interfere, and to get others to help him.* Cabinets that have not wedded themselves to an abstraction, will reserve a similar discretion; neither prejudging questions of intervention, nor hampering their freedom with self-imposed restrictions; since, 'in truth, *it is not the interfering or keeping aloof, but iniquitous intermeddling or treacherous inaction which is praised or blamed by the decision of an equitable judge.'*"

Although some might suspect the above extracts to exhibit an affectation of extreme perspicacity not justified by the facts, or of a pedantic fondness for the chair of dictation, instead of giving the law from competent authority, yet every one acquainted with the case must see, that if they state the true principles of law, Kossuth is right; and Professor Brownson, and Cardinal Hughes, and Bishop Conner, and Dr. Boardman have cruelly slandered a righteous man, for righteous principles. "An inquisition is to be made of his person and his



He chooses his own words without offering proof, for saying that we have a right to tell the cabinets what the law of nations is, and the right to protest and make war for the violation of that law. He lays it down that such intervention may be a right and a duty, demanding the gratitude of the world, as I have proved from a number of historical facts, and good authorities. He declares, as I have shown, that every case should be decided upon its own merits. Is it just or unjust? He shows that the cause of Hungary is *just*, and that of Russia *unjust*. He states indirectly that Prussia and Turkey had a full right to interfere in the late war, and we have an abstract right to interfere, if there should be a second war, but gives no proof for such a splitting of hairs.

Our distance from Hungary is not half such an obstacle now, as our distance from France was in the revolution: and the right of those nations which helped perishing Greece, was not only an *abstract* but a *concrete* right and duty, as the Dr. has declared: and their right to help Greece, and the right of France to help us, was as good in a first war as in a second. Such questions are not to be decided by numbers, but by proof and principle. What the Dr. calls "the law of self-protection," he thinks would justify Turkey or Prussia in defending Hungary, while it would not justify us.

In the 561st page of Wheaton's "History of the Law of Nations," and in the 114th page of his "Elements of International Law," he places this principle in a light which has escaped the Doctor's notice. In speaking of the intervention for Greece, the last-mentioned work says: "The protestant princes and states of Europe, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, did not scruple to confederate and wage war in order to secure the freedom of religious worship for the votaries of their faith in the bosom of catholic communities to whose subjects it was denied. Still more justifiable was the interference of the Christian powers, to rescue a whole nation not merely from religious persecution, but from the cruel alternative of being transported from their native land into Egyptian bondage, or exterminated by their merciless oppressors."

Concerning this intervention, he says: "Its principle was fully justified by the great, paramount law of self-preservation; 'WHATEVER A NATION MAY LAWFULLY DEFEND FOR ITSELF, IT MAY DEFEND FOR ANOTHER PEOPLE, IF CALLED UPON TO INTERPOSE.' The interference of the Christian powers to put an end to this bloody contest might therefore have been safely rested upon this ground alone." Taking this *great, paramount law* for granted, as it is here stated, the application has



not a shadow of obscurity. America has a constitution more than sixty years old, which it has a right to defend for itself. Hungary has a constitution of centuries, which it has a right to defend for itself. If they and we were to change situations, and our chosen but exiled president should call upon them to interpose, they would have a right to defend for us what they might lawfully defend for themselves; and we should thank them for it, as we thanked France for that very favour. But their chosen governor has called upon us to interpose, and we have a right to defend for them what we might lawfully defend for ourselves. This is the legitimate application of the golden rule in the scriptures, and of a principle of the law of nations called, "THE GREAT PARAMOUNT LAW OF SELF-PRESERVATION."

This sober conclusion should not be weakened in a sober mind by superficial flings at propagandism, such as calling us a grand *collegium de propaganda libertate*. This is evidently an expression *ad invidiam*, because the Roman college for propagating the faith is so odious. But what makes it odious? Proselytism is not odious in itself, but only when it destroys instead of edifying. Every act or institution of proselytism must be judged by its merits, as well as every case of intervention. Is it just or unjust? is the question to be asked. Moses appointed an "inquisition:" it was just. Rome has an inquisition: it is unjust. Christ ordered the universal propagation of his faith, which would give universal liberty. Because the despots of Europe know this, they reject the Bible. Antichrist orders the universal propagation of his faith, which would produce universal slavery. Because the despots know this, they favour popery.

Some time ago we promised to endeavour to show that this position so scorned, is that of the original protest from which protestantism has its name. The spirit of it appears in every true conversion from popery, without the name being adverted to. I am not aware that Count Guicciardini called himself, or thought himself a protestant, until driven from home among protestants. Yet in his trial he was distinguished by an infallible mark of protestantism. When they offered to his accomplished character, noble blood, and high standing an exemption from farther notice, if he would only engage not to act in behalf of others, he preferred death to that selfish, ter-rapin policy, into which some would dragoon us.

The famous historian of the Reformation, Merle d'Aubigné, tells us that "the *status quo*, and no proselytism," were the essentials of the unjust and perfidious platform which gave rise



to the famous protest. This platform offered to the Lutherans the conditions offered to Guicciardini. Dr. Merle says, "If they had been animated by *selfishness*, they would, perhaps, have accepted this decree. In fact they were left free, in appearance, at least, to profess their faith: ought they to demand more? Could they do so? Were they bound to constitute themselves the *champions of liberty of conscience in all the world?*"

Dr. Boardman has settled that question for them, *ex cathedra*. But not so did our blessed fathers settle it. Dr. Merle says, "Never, perhaps, had there been a more critical situation: but these noble-minded men came victorious out of the trial." "If one of the states of the empire desired some day to follow their example and be reformed, should they take away its power of doing so? Having themselves entered the kingdom of heaven, should they shut the door after them? No! Rather endure every thing, sacrifice every thing, even their estates, their crowns and their lives."

If Kossuth had made a selfish settlement in England or America, as Batthyani did in France, men, in whom the flesh prevails, could have received him into their fellowship. But the animal, in man or brute, is instinctively pugnacious against strangers; and he is a stranger indeed. Abhorring the low principles of selfishness and effeminacy, avarice and ambition—devoted to the lofty passion of disinterested philanthropy—willing to make any sacrifice for country and for conscience—he is an offensive mystery to men whose liberality and honesty are nothing more than mere glorification and *badinage*, "*nyther more, nyther less*;" as professor Brownson says.

The act which occasioned the famous protest was just such a one as that by which the perjured emperor of Austria and king of Naples have lately annulled free constitutions. It was the resolution of Spires which solemnly guaranteed religious liberty. Dr. Merle says, "The imperial commissaries announced to the diet that the last resolution of Spires, which left all the states free to act in conformity with the inspirations of their consciences, having given rise to great disorders, the emperor had annulled it by virtue of his supreme power." Thus the Doctor observes, the reformers "remained within the bounds of legality, while their adversaries were driven to *coups d'état*."

When the reformers wished to present the protest, they received such an answer as the Swiss lately received from the French usurper: "It is a settled affair, submission is all that remains." They nevertheless refused submission, and coura-



geously adhered to their protest, although they all agreed with Luther in his awful prediction, verified in the thirty years' war. He said, "These insatiable leeches will take no repose, until they see the whole of Germany flowing with blood." The prospect of Dr. Boardman's ensanguined fields did not turn them back, and their forward course was that of just intervention in behalf of the oppressed, and against the unjust intervention of the oppressor, whether he be prince or priest.

Dr. Merle says, "The principles contained in this celebrated protest of the 19th April, 1529, constitute the very essence of protestantism." It "*rejects the intervention both of the empire and of the papacy.*" "There has never been any thing more positive, and, at the same time, more aggressive, than the position of the protestants at Spires. By maintaining that their faith alone is capable of saving the world, they defended with intrepid courage the rights of *Christian proselytism*. We cannot abandon this *proselytism*, without deserting the protestant principle."

These are the words of the great historian of the reformation, written long before Dr. Boardman's address upon the *insanity and heresy* of just *propagandism*, and denouncing the *newly invented doctrine* of intervention as coming from the serpent seducer. It reminds one of the monk mentioned by Conrad de Heresbach, who edified his audience by saying, "A *new language* has been *invented*, which is called Greek. Guard carefully against it. It is the mother of every species of *heresy*. I observe in the hands of a great many people a book written in this language, which they call the New Testament. It is a book full of *thorns and serpents*."

But Dr. Boardman says, that this book and its teachings ought to be propagated throughout the European Babylon, and liberty will follow in its train. That is the very reason why they do not allow such books, teachers or churches to exist among them. And shall we consent to let our Christian brethren lie chained to the floor of the Babylonish prison-house, and patiently wait until the conquering army shall reach our shores? So says the oracle that orders us to wait for a second invasion. But weak as James I. of England was, he was not weak enough for this. To the ambassador of the queen regent of France, he said, "when my neighbours are attacked in a quarrel in which I am interested, the law of nature requires that I should *anticipate and prevent* the evil which may thence result to myself."

The country of that monarch now feels that its late neglect of this maxim was an evil policy. Blessings be upon Secre-



tary Walker for cheering them in the dark day. Let him and others persevere, and the gratitude of ages will embalm their names. But let them not, like the political quacks of France, expect to secure liberty and happiness while destroying religion and burning the Bible.

In support of this position, let me give you the following opinion of the reformation by an eminent royalist and papist, of that country. His name is Charles Francis Dominic de Villers. "Europe, plunged for several centuries, in a stupor and apathy, interrupted only by wars, or rather by incursions and robberies, without any beneficial object to humanity, received at once a new life and new activity. A universal and deep interest agitated the nations. Their powers were developed, their minds expanded by new political ideas. Former revolutions had only exercised men's arms; this employed their heads. The people who, before, had been only estimated as flocks, passively subject to the caprice of their leaders, now began to act for themselves, and to feel their importance and utility. Those who embraced the reform made common cause with their princes for liberty; and hence arose a closer bond, a community of interest and of action between the sovereign and his subjects. Both were for ever delivered from the excessive and burdensome power of the clergy, as well as from the struggle, so distressing to all Europe, and which had endured so long, between the popes and the emperors, to know which of them should retain the supreme power. Social order was regulated and brought near to perfection." "The foundations of the Prussian monarchy and the American republic were laid." "Commutations and wars became more general, but they were also sooner terminated, and their rigour was lightened by a *more humane law of nations*." "Thus, the fermentation excited in Europe by religious opinions has created in it a new order of things, *more beneficial to humanity, and has even affected the two worlds*."

These are the sentiments of a prize essay, to which the award was adjudged by "The National Institute of France." It was on the question, "What has been the influence of the reformation by Luther on the political situation of the different states of Europe, and on the progress of knowledge?" The whole essay justifies the dying opinion expressed to Louis Philippe by his first and ablest premier, Casimir Perrier. He told his master that France would never have a settled government until she had a religious people. They were all papists and all atheists: but no intelligent Christian thinks

popery or atheism a *religion*, but *irreligion*. It is infidel, perjured popery which defeats the framers of free constitutions in Europe and America, and endeavours to carry back society to that condition in which the golden rule and the Greek Testament are considered new inventions, and driven to the Serbonian bog with blood and thunder.

While lecturers here recommend popery as the necessary promoter and supporter of civilization and liberty, they nevertheless recommend the blackest demons of the dark ages, as the models upon which to form these blessings. Sir Wm. E. Gladstone proves that a prelatical catechism, forced upon all teachers and pupils by the Neapolitan government, avowedly teaches that semi-civilization is the proper state of society. To bring about, in dear England, that happy condition in which the Corkonians and Fardowns already luxuriate, in Ireland and America, they have inaugurated a cardinal, to bring the canon law into legitimate operation; for which intolerable code the American cardinal apologizes, by saying, that it was made for a semi-barbarous race, and has therefore fallen into desuetude. Thus, while their shuffling and perjury, absolutism and treason are almost undissembled, they expect that increasing corruption will give them the ascendancy in the British parliament and the American congress.

No intelligent man who will look at the plots of the congress of Verona, and the holy alliance against all free governments, can help wondering at the thinness of the veil with which they cover their deadly designs. Some years ago, an Italian exile published in this country, certain alleged articles of the covenant adopted by that congress, and they were several times published, and subjected to the denials or corrections of the priesthood, if they believed them either wholly forged or partially inaccurate. No contradiction or correction having come to hand, they are here copied.

“ARTICLE I. The high contracting powers being convinced that the system of *representative governments* is equally incompatible with monarchical principles, as the maxim of the *sovereignty of the people* with the divine right of kings, engage mutually, in the most solemn manner, to use all their efforts to *put an end to the system of representative governments* in Europe, and to prevent its being introduced into those countries where it is not known.

“ARTICLE II. As it cannot be doubted that the *liberty of the press* is the most powerful means used by the pretended supporters of the rights of nations, to the detriment of those of princes, the high contracting powers promise reciprocally to *adopt all proper means to suppress it*.



"ARTICLE III. The contracting powers offer, in common, *their thanks to the pope, for all that he has done already in their behalf, and solicit his constant co-operation in their design to subjugate the nations.*"

You and I are imperfectly acquainted with such matters as these. I will state what I can, and shall be thankful for information in return. The first of these articles promises to destroy representative governments in Europe. This did not embrace America; but neither does it appear to have included the British isle; for there was a British negotiator there, and England only refused to concur in the great object of the congress, which was to destroy the representative system in Spain, which was accomplished, in conformity with this article.

Some years before this event, when they were forming the Germanic confederation, the plenipotentiary of Great Britain reminded them "that a representative system had existed in Germany, of right, from time immemorial," and successfully asserted the validity of numerous constitutions, acknowledging and regulating this system. Since that time, these constitutions have gone the way of the Spanish victim, by the high contracting powers, in conformity with their first article. After destroying the representative government of Spain, the many constitutions of Germany, then Hungary, and Rome, and France, they now want to finish the continent with Belgium and Switzerland.

But, alas! England finds that although their words appeared to exclude her from the ban, their intentions did not. And now she repents of her treachery in permitting the wild beasts of popery and despotism to murder her friends in detail. But like our southern cavaliers, they feel themselves in a strait. They fear that sort of liberty which withers an oppressive hereditary peerage, as the chivalry fear that liberty which threatens Governor M'Duffie's corner stone of democracy. Puseyism and Maynoothism show that the parliament would like popish protection from liberty; and the same disposition is evinced by the longing looks of congress towards that roost of Jesuitical ravens which are perching in scores upon the capitol, and taking possession of Cardinal Hughes's "own Washington," as the Cardinal told us they would.

When the spirit of America is thus changed, let us not be too certain that our selfish treachery will be safe, when the rolling tide of successful despotism shall pass England to visit our representative government.

In relation to the second article, which resolves to destroy



the liberty of the press, the united and hearty zeal of the despots is evident, by the condition to which it is reduced in their own governments, and the arbitrary demands made upon Switzerland for muzzling her press. How remarkable that the usurpation of Napoleon the Little is already so engrafted into the consolidated despotism of Europe, under the Russian head, that the publisher of a Florentine paper has been fined and imprisoned for an article containing, in the words of the indictment, "political allusions to events in France!" This shows that the thanks which the congress of Verona, in their third article, gave to the pope, were richly deserved; and that their solicitation for his continued "co-operation in their design to subjugate the nations," has been duly complied with. If Brownson and Hughes, Kenrick and Conner neglect to give the same thanks and present the same solicitations to Dr. Boardman, they deserve a rebuke from the pope and the emperor.

The suppression of the press in Europe is by *steel*. Unhappily for us much of the same work is done here by *gold*; and it is not the teachings of Washington, but priestcraft and cottoncraft that act as a torpedo to the press, the congress, and the clergy. The thanks are due, not to the hero of liberty, but to his unsound expositors; as they were given at Verona, not to Christ, but to his pretended vicar.

In allusion to the noble speech of ex-Secretary Walker, in England, Dr. Boardman repudiates with disgust the thought of being associated with England in the cause which Kossuth advocates, because she has been a great and guilty meddler with the rights of nations. This should make us rejoice the more in her repentance and amendment. Is it not more respectable to dine with a gentlemanly reformed drunkard, than to co-operate with the old drunken harlot of Rome, who never will repent or amend?

England is now writhing under the gouty effects of old carousals. The fate of Laud and of his royal master warned them against going over to his holiness, "the Man of sin;" and as their political piety longed for some holy abomination, they concluded to form "the Holy Alliance," consummated at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1818, between the five great powers. The British lion, feeling sore under the scratching received from Jackson and our little navy, was incessantly drumming up these mighty potentates to back him on the right of search, and avenge upon America the wounds of that quarrel. We do not ask Dr. Boardman to interpret for us. This was done by the original parties themselves, as Wheaton

informs us in his *Elements of International Law*, p. 106. "This union was intended to form a perpetual system of intervention among the European states," in favour of monarchical institutions. "This general right of interference was sometimes defined so as to be applicable to every case of popular revolution," offensive to monarchy. "At others, it was extended to *every revolutionary movement pronounced by these powers to endanger, in its consequences, immediate or remote, the social order of Europe, or the particular safety of neighbouring states.*"

Bleeding under recent wounds, and burning for the right of search, all this was intended by England herself to bear down upon the United States, with all that awful force which had crushed the mightiest of conquerors. Who does not know that it is the revolutionary movements of the American continent that endanger, in their consequences, immediate and remote, the monarchical social order of Europe? After settling these hopeful arrangements, England at last got the five powers reluctantly and conditionally to set up the right of search, which General Cass immediately knocked into a cocked hat. But about this her zeal has wonderfully cooled, since she finds that the czar and his vassals intend first to search England, and speak fair to us until they have examined London: although we have the institutions which their own covenants have marked for destruction, as the guiltiest and worst.

Dr. Boardman seems confident that our peace is perfectly secure, if we will leave all sufferers for liberty to their fate. So the British government seemed to think when they were leaving Poland, Tahiti, Germany, Hungary and Italy to perish without pity. She now finds that there is to be a reckoning for her cruel treachery in these cases. When America sees the glorious little island breasting the storm which broke the mighty Napoleon, and that too, in the cause of liberty, can cardinals and cotton and clerical cowards keep down our people? It is more than congress can do, if they sell themselves to the purchasers of Georgey and Batthyany.

One more specimen of the Doctor's logic, before closing this review. As a triumphant proof that we are bound to take care of our precious selves, and help nobody else, even by declaring the law of nations, he says that "*the entire race have a stake in this government.*" I wish to examine this argument; but, with his leave, I will substitute the word *venture*, "something sent to sea in trade," for *stake*, which means "wager."

We will represent the Doctor's "entire race," by a hundred families on a remote island; and "this government," by a Yankee craft with Dr. Boardman for captain. The islanders have hardware enough and to spare, but no dry goods or groceries. To remedy this evil, each family puts into the captain's hands a sufficient "venture" of what he has, to obtain a full supply of what he needs. Prosperous in his voyage out, in his traffic in foreign ports, and in his return, he unaccountably refuses to land and discharge his rich cargo. While he strides his deck with all the dignified importance of Captain Long, his only answer to the hungry canoes which surround his vessel is, "the entire island has a venture in this ship. Its success has been unparalleled in the commercial marine of the world. It is the last hope of the island. I have no right to destroy it; and it would destroy it, (the teachings of Washington say so,) if I were to land among such paupers and give you the property which your "venture" purchased. No! I will do what is a thousand times better for you. I will give you a sight of the dry goods, and a smell of the groceries, and after you have seen and appreciated our noble example, you will be better qualified to enjoy and conserve such precious comforts!"

This argument is not near so lucid to those who gave the venture as to him who keeps the proceeds; although he does it in compliance with the teachings of some great old swindler, whom he calls Washington. But half the people that go to the penitentiary now-a-days are called Adams, Jefferson, Jackson, or the like. How different is the "own Washington" of Cardinal Hughes and Dr. Boardman from the great hero of the American revolution!

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### THE DOCTRINE OF INTERVENTION.

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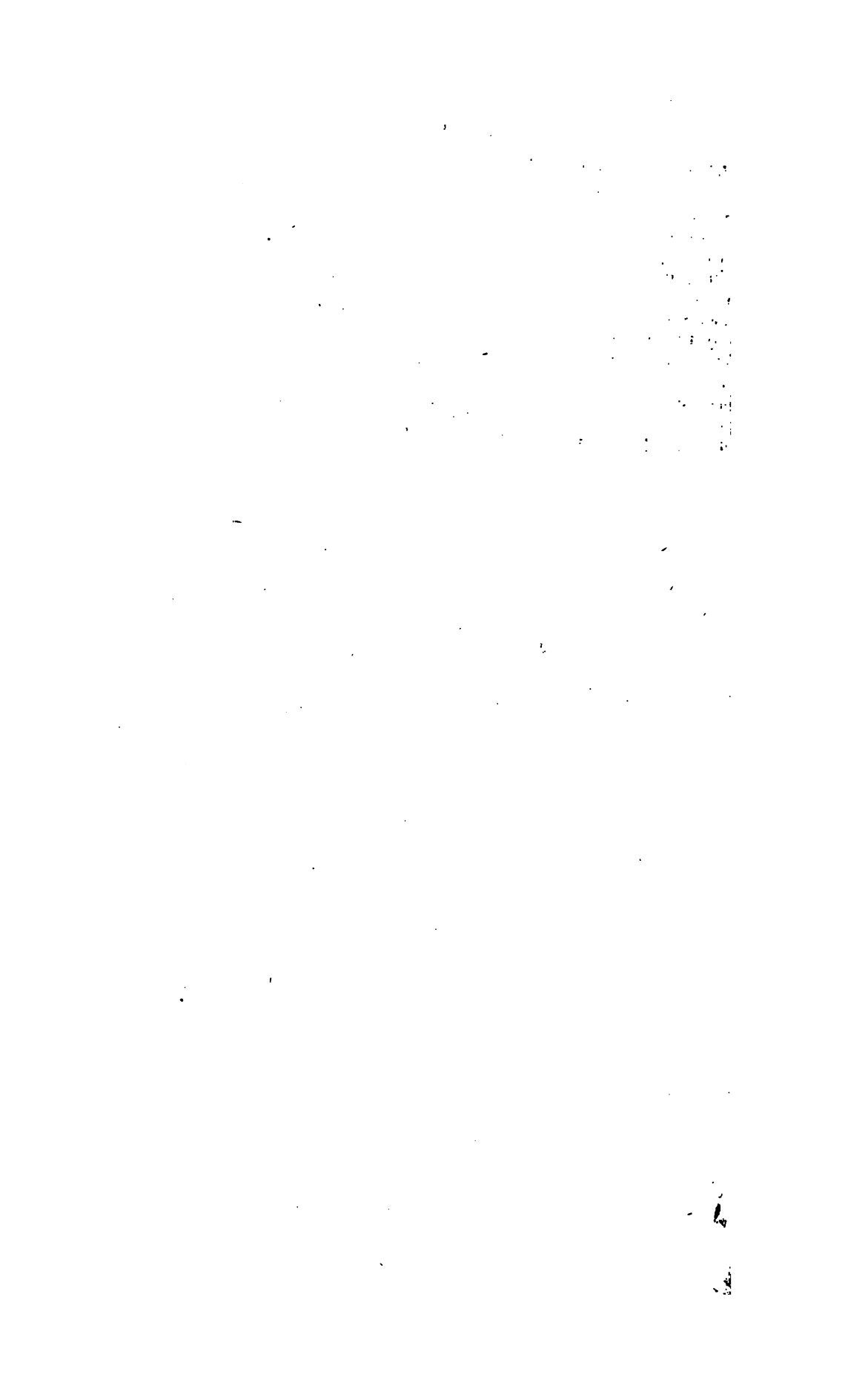
One of our exchanges re-prints the following preamble and resolution which were adopted by Congress on the 12th of November, 1777:

"And, whereas, the *cause of the United States may be greatly endangered, unless such of the European powers as regard the rights of mankind* should INTERFERE TO PREVENT the ungenerous combination of powers against the liberation of said States:

"Resolved, That the Commissioners of the United States at the several Courts of Europe *be directed* to apply to the several Courts, and request *their immediate assistance for preventing* a further embarkation of foreign troops to America, and also to urge the necessity of their acknowledging the independence of these States."

Thus, as the New York *Times* observes, the United States Government would seem from this to have taken ground, at a very early day, upon the subject which is regarded by a great many public men now-a-days to disturb their peace. It is true, circumstances have changed materially. *Then* we needed help, and asked for it, on the broad principle that all nations which "regard the rights of mankind," ought to interfere to prevent the combined intervention of despotic powers against our menaced liberties. *Now* we are unwilling—not only to do any thing in regard to such combined interference against freedom and human rights, but even to *say* that we do not approve of it. The simple proposition to protest against such a violation of justice and of right, is denounced as a departure from our ancient policy, and as one of the radical innovations by which the stability of the Republic is threatened.—*Phila. Sun.*

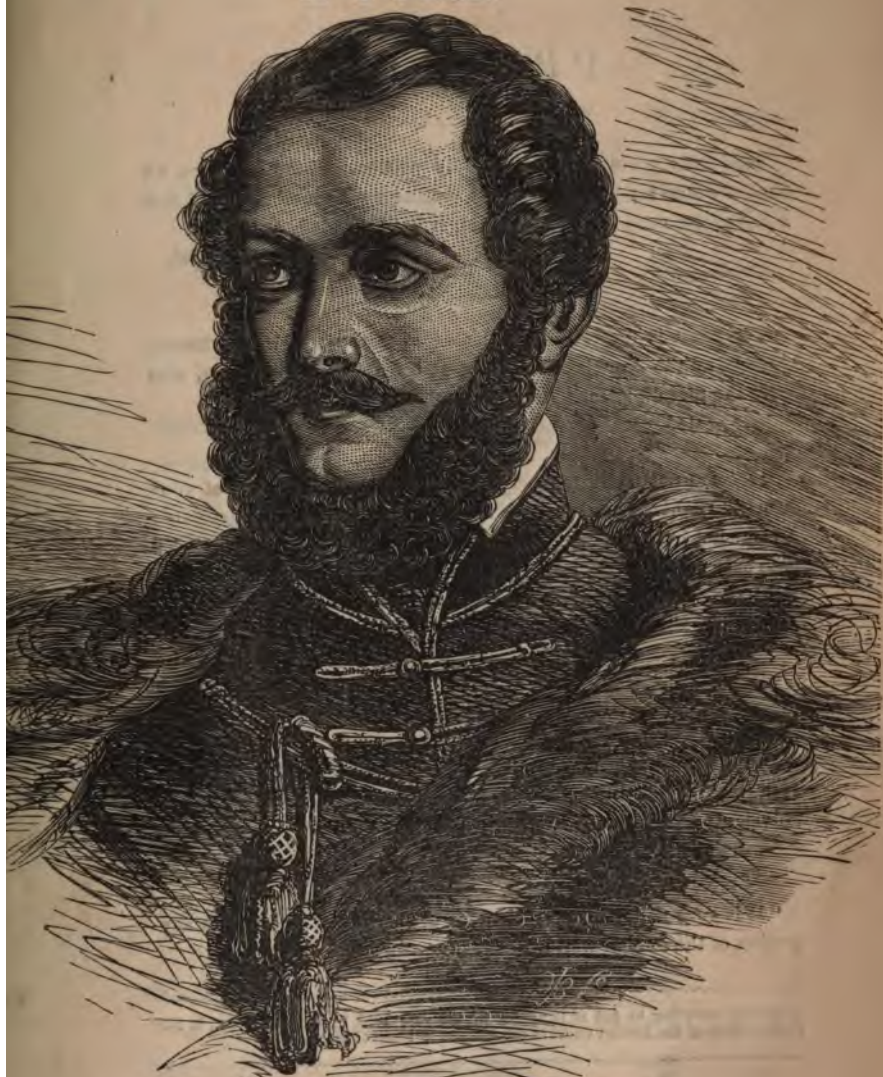








BROTHER JONATHAN'S  
**Welcome to Kossuth.**  
A POEM.



*Eugene W. Washburn del.*  
PRICE, TEN CENTS.

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1865, Oct. 15.  
Gift of  
Hon. Charles Sumner,  
of Boston,  
(Dec. 5, 1836.)

## P R E F A C E.

THIS little poem has been rapidly written. There has been no time to revise it; but if any of the sentiments it contains should find a responsive echo in a single breast, it is all that is hoped for by

THE AUTHOR.

Cambridge.

This poem is respectfully dedicated to COLONEL T. B. LAWRENCE, Attaché of the American Legation at the Court of St. James, who gave the first diplomatic American welcome to KOSSUTH.

"I come not to try to engage your arms, and the blood of your hearts, to fight our battles. We will fight them ourselves. (*Applause.*) I come not here to entangle you in any war. \* \* \* \* \* The only thing we ask is to have fair play, that we may not have to fight the whole world." (*Laughter and applause.*)—KOSSUTH to the Democratic Association at Washington.

## I N D E X.

Prologue, 3d page; Poem, 7th page; Brother Jonathan enters, 15th page; What Uncle Sam says to Jonathan, 17th page; Hoosier's Advice to Kossuth, 25th page; Star Spangled Banner—Curtain falls, 27th page.

"It is your policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."—WASHINGTON'S *Farewell Address.*

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1862, by REDDING & Co., in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

Press of DANRELL & MOORE, 16 Devonshire Street.

or Miss Turner—

With the  
regards of  
the author  
all Hove  
Old Cambridge. E. B.  
Jan. 1852.

## PROLOGUE.

BY THE GENIUS OF COMMERCE.

### I.

ALL hail, ye New York Editors,  
Who at the Astor dined,  
And who rather in your speeches  
Left Washington behind !  
Who in your rapid progress  
Forgot a sage, or so, —  
Such as Jefferson, and Adams,  
Ben Franklin, and Monroe.

### II.

They were rather clever fellows,  
And men of some renown,  
But they were of the "Country,"  
And you are of the "Town :"  
And if they now were living,  
They'd be reckoned "slightly slow," —  
Decidedly "behind the age,"  
As matters seem to go.

## III.

And with you was a preacher,  
With love of freedom crammed,—  
Who still is Dr. Beecher,  
Though in “certain circles damned.”  
He, the follower of Jesus,  
So peaceful, meek, and lowly,  
Now urges on his fellow-men  
To deeds the most unholy!

## IV.

No doubt that wit was flowing  
Around that festive board,  
Inspired by the blood-red wine  
The Astor's bins afford;  
But another sort of “claret”  
Shall flush the Russian snow,  
When those valiant “New York Editors”  
Rush forth to meet the foe.

## V.

When their really gifted Morris,  
Their valiant “Brigadier,”  
Shall forsake the “pen and scissors,”  
And with vengeance grasp the spear;  
For he — the modern Körner —  
Of lyric verse the lord,  
Shall at evening, on his lyre,  
Sing the prowess of his sword!

## VI.

Ah ! how easy at the " Banquet,"  
    'Mid the popping of Champagne,—  
To speak of all the glories  
    Of an Austrian Campaign.  
And ah ! how very easy,  
    With a waiter at your back,  
And a venison steak before you,  
    To speak of an attack !!

## VII.

All hail to thee, my Country !  
    'T is to thee I fondly turn ;  
Oh ! ever on thy mountains,  
    May the fires of Freedom burn :  
May thy Starry Standard ever  
    Float, as it floats to-day ;  
May thy years that add new brilliants,  
    See no brilliant star decay.

## VIII.

When I dream of all the glories  
    Of the Present and the Past ;  
When I think of our Republic,  
    So young, and yet so vast,—  
Then gazing through the Future,  
    Through the veil of coming years,  
I see with what a lustre  
    My " Native Land " appears !



## IX.

May the "birthright of our Fathers,"  
With all their fair renown,  
Still to their children's children  
Be with honor handed down ;  
May Peace and Plenty ever  
On our happy shores abide,  
And no foreign, arm'd invasion,  
Overwhelm us like a tide.

## X.

For every suffering nation  
We will Fast, and Preach, and Pray,  
"In our day and generation,"  
We will work while it is day ;  
But as to intervention,  
That with "Commerce" interferes,  
"So we'll beat our swords to ploughshares,"  
"And to pruning hooks, our spears."

## XI.

"Shall we, whose lamp is lighted "  
"With wisdom from on high,"  
Disturb the peace of nations  
Who come of us to buy ?  
No, never ! Yet fair Freedom  
We will by our *words* proclaim,  
And perhaps each distant nation  
"May yet learn the hallowed name."

.

## P O E M.

---

### I.

BEHOLD ! the curtain rises ;  
Look ! the stage with flags is drest  
And, amongst them, waving proudly,  
Shines the " Banner of the West."  
Pray, who are these that enter,  
With Kossuth in the van?  
Why, the sons of patriot heroes,  
Who now guard the rights of man.

### II.

And who is that among them,  
With glance so proud and high,  
Whose very look is eloquent  
With the will to do or die ?  
'T is the genius of our country, —  
But hark ! he seems to speak ;  
While the color mounts and mantles  
O'er his flushed and burning cheek.

### III.

Kossuth ! we bid you welcome  
To our country vast and free ;  
We have battle-fields to show you,  
That surpass Thermopylæ.  
We have noble men of nature,  
And valiant men of might ;  
Wise and prudent heads for council,  
Young and lusty arms to fight.



## VII.

If we march, the world goes with us ;  
All the gathered wrongs of years  
Shall be swept away, and vanish  
Before our gleaming spears.  
“ The lightning has its power,  
And the hurricane its breath,”  
But our voice, more strong than either,  
Dooms all tyranny to death.

## VIII.

Take down the musket from the wall,  
Gird on the trusty sword —  
Fling forth our storm-torn banner,  
Leave the wine-cups on the board ;  
Call up the memory of the past,  
Think, think whose sons ye are,  
And rush bravely forth to battle  
With Austria and the Czar.

## IX.

Shall they in distant Europe  
Strike a struggling nation down,  
And we not rise to crush them  
With the fierceness of our frown ?  
Shall we linger on our mission,  
When the blood, and tears, and groans  
Of crushed and bleeding Hungary,  
Might move the very stones ?



## X.

Has our land a hill or valley,  
Where a free-born Yankee lives,  
Who would not for Kossuth rally,  
With the impulse freedom gives?  
Who would not for God and liberty  
Flash forth his patriot steel,  
And teach the serfs of Europe  
What sympathies we feel?

## XI.

Has the love of arms subsided  
With the reign of gentle peace?  
Shall we look on in silence  
While the foes of man increase?  
Shall we see a haughty despot  
On a nation place his yoke,  
And not some word of comfort  
For the crushed and weak invoke?

## XII.

Shall we go down in silence  
To the graves our fathers fill —  
Forgetful of their memories,  
Their indomitable will?  
Forgetful of their valor,  
That like a flame gushed forth,  
From the peaceful southern valley  
To the mountains of the north?

## XIII.

Has death for Freedom's holy cause  
A power to make us turn ?  
Shall we not for suffering nations  
The torch of Freedom burn ?  
Shall not Columbia's Ægis  
The ranks of patriots screen ?  
May we not, at least in speeches,  
For our comrades intervene ?

## XIV.

May not the Press, in thunder tones,  
Through the length of our great land,  
Peal out the notes of welcome  
To a faint and exiled band ?  
May not our gallant soldiers,  
With tears of joy, embrace  
The hero who has battled  
For his nation — for his race ?

## XV.

What crown have we to give him —  
He, who never sought a crown,  
That can equal all the lustre  
Of his own world-wide renown ?  
And what to him the glory  
Of our gaudiest parade ?  
He, before whom monarchs tremble —  
Of whom tyrants are afraid ?

## XVI.

Still, while the foaming river  
Sweeps down to meet the sea,  
Shall the beating hearts of freemen  
Rush forth to meet the free.  
While the sun with splendor flashes  
From the heavenly vault above,  
We will hail with joy and rapture  
The patriot that we love.

## XVII.

While hope, and thought, and feeling,  
Make up the human soul —  
While 't is certain that our nation  
Shall at last the earth control ;  
While each revolving season  
Adds new strength to our career,  
We as freemen see no treason  
In a cordial welcome here.

## XVIII.

While our mighty western empire  
Stretches on from sea to sea ;  
While each State shall now, as ever,  
To our UNION still agree ;  
While the stars that shine above us,  
In their destined orbits roll,  
With the truth that angels love us,  
We will love the patriot's soul.

## XIX.

For each principle we fought for  
Has Kossuth the valiant stood,  
And the government he sought for  
Was republican and good.  
Where is the craven spirit  
That would dare to show his face,  
And proclaim our nation's welcome  
Was a national disgrace?

## XX.

Humanity is with us  
In the path that we have trod,  
And not alone humanity,  
But a wise, all-seeing God.  
HE ordereth the nations —  
It is HIS o'erruling hand  
That has given wealth and power  
To our wide and fruitful land.

## XXI.

What are kings, and thrones, and nations,  
Or the power for which they lust,  
Compared with Him who values  
“All our vanities as dust” —  
“He who taketh up the islands”  
“As a very little thing,”  
“To whom men are but as grasshoppers?”  
Then what to Him a king?



## XXII.

“HE looketh down from Heaven,  
HE ordereth all things well,”  
HE hath raised us up a nation  
Old Europe's woes to quell.  
In our youth HE watched and guarded  
Us, with power from HIS Throne,  
But our Future,—and our Destiny  
Is known to Him alone.

## XXIII.

HE has planted deep in every heart  
The love of truth and right,  
HE has taught us by our conscience  
That for Freedom we may fight;  
HE has taught us we may welcome  
Here, the poor and the oppressed,  
Give the exile aid and comfort,  
Give the weak and weary rest.

## XXIV.

We see in Kossuth something more  
Than merely man alone,  
He bears his high commission  
From God's Eternal Throne;  
He comes to save his nation,  
To set the captive free,  
To Europe bears salvation,  
To Earth Christianity.

## XXV.

Through many years we waited,  
As patient mortals can ;  
Oft with our friends debated,  
About the "coming man."  
But now 't is dark no longer,  
The whole horizon's clear ;  
Kossuth at last has reached us,  
The "coming man" is here.

## XXVI.

But who is this that enters,  
In a costume rather queer ?  
Ah ! our old friend Brother Jonathan,  
We're glad to see you here.  
Very short and striped trowse's,  
Very straight and yellow vest,  
In a coat that laughter rouses,  
Comes the Ajax of the West.

## XXVII.

And over all a homespun coat  
Of faint sky-blue he wears,  
Which often 'round the elbows  
Has met with some repairs ;  
On his feet a pair of cowhide boots,  
On his neck a dark cravat,  
And o'er his gray and grizzled locks,  
A nice new cotton hat.

## XXVIII.

In one hand he swings a jackknife,  
In the other holds a stick,  
From which the long-tailed shavings  
Fly furious and thick.  
There's something very easy  
And careless in his mien,  
That might almost mark him noble,  
In a different costume seen.

## XXIX.

There's a very shrewd expression  
About the mouth and eyes,  
That the want of any "mother wit"  
Most decidedly denies;  
Something wise, too, seems to linger  
In that slow and drawling tone,  
With which to us, his audience,  
He makes his "notions" known.

## XXX.

Kossuth — I'm glad to see you;  
I hope as how you're well;  
It's reckoned, down in our town,  
You've come to stay a spell;  
We kinder calkilate as how  
You're a rather smartish man,  
And I guess our folks can du for  
You, all any body can.

## XXXI.

We like you pretty well to hum,  
Though Uncle Sam is skittish  
About your scheme for joining  
With them bloody red-coat British ;  
He told me so last Sunday,  
As we walked home from meetin',  
And what the 'tarnal critter said,  
Perhaps,—will bear repeatin'.

## XXXII.

Sez he, "I ha n't a doubt," sez he,  
"But what Kossuth's a chap,  
Who, if he'd men and money,  
Would give them kings a rap.  
He's got true grit, that's sartain,  
And lots of ginuwine pluck,  
And I wish that down in Hungary  
He'd met with better luck.

## XXXIII.

"My father fought for freedom ;  
He was out at Concord fight,  
I have heard him tell the story,  
On many a winter night ;  
I used to love to listen  
To the deeds that then were done,  
When they drove like sheep the British  
From the fields of Lexington.

---



## XXXIV.

“ He also stood with Warren,  
On Bunker's sacred height,  
And though rather short for powder,  
They made quite a pretty fight.  
When Washington rode into camp,  
He concluded he would draw  
His sword for God and Liberty,  
And enlisted for the war.

## XXXV.

“ He saw some darned hard fightin',  
And I guess as how that we  
Have hardly any notion  
What it cost to make us free.  
He rose to be a captain,  
And I've always understood,  
He was reckoned in his regiment,  
A soldier brave and good.

## XXXVI.

“ In fact, I've got a letter,  
Sent by Washington to him ;  
Whene'er he read that letter  
His eyes with tears grew dim.  
'Twas written on the Delaware,  
When the Hessian camp they stormed,  
And he, beneath his leader's eye,  
Some gallant act performed.

## XXXVII.

“Now Jonathan, I tell you,”  
Sez Uncle Sam, “I know  
Two things my father valued  
More than any thing below ;  
The one was that old letter,  
And the other, you may guess,  
Were the words his chieftain uttered  
In his last farewell Address.

## XXXVIII.

“He would sometimes call me to him,  
And would pat me on the head,  
Saying, ‘Do n’t forget this counsel,  
When your poor old father’s dead :  
Keep an eye upon your rulers, Sam,  
And be sure that they steer clear  
Of forming an alliance  
With any nation far or near.

## XXXIX.

“Let us preach by our example ;  
All nations soon must see  
They’d be a darned sight better off,  
If they were only free.  
Then let them rise as we did,  
And the aid of God invoke,  
And shake from off their shoulders,  
The hateful tyrant’s yoke.

## XL.

“Then, Sam, I tell you what you do,  
If you are living then :  
Give them your truest sympathy,  
And bid them fight like men.  
Do n't you stir a step to help them,  
But sing out,—‘ go ahead !’  
And point them to your fathers,  
Who for freedom fought and bled.

## XLI.

“Look on, a cool spectator ;  
If they beg you'll intervene,  
Though it goes agin your natur',  
Let them know you're not so green.  
If a nation really rises,  
The battle soon is done,  
For the people are the many,  
And the tyrant is but one.

## XLII.

“There'll be lots of patriots comin',  
As came Monsieur Genet,  
But the rule laid down by Washington  
You must never once forget :  
Inspire them with ardor,  
Weep for their country's pain,  
Then whisper softly in their ear,  
‘Go home and try again.’

## XLIII.

“The day is surely dawning,  
It will all be right in time,  
*We* have given kings a warning  
That rebellion is n’t crime.  
British cannon down at Yorktown  
Did n’t frighten Yankee boys,  
Though I rather guess that victory  
Every tyrant still annoys.

## XLIV.

“When their freedom is established,  
When their battles all are fought,  
Then hasten to embrace them,  
If your friendship then is sought;  
Then shout and throw your hat up,  
Ring the bells, and blaze away  
With your muskets and your cannon,  
On *that* Independence Day.

## XLV.

“But Sam, if foes invade us,  
Take down your father’s gun,  
And be sure you ne’er resign it  
But with death, or victory won.  
The freedom that I fought to gain  
I give to you to keep,  
And ne’er forget this counsel, Sam,  
When your father’s gone to sleep.



## XLVI.

“ Brother Jonathan, I tell you,”  
    Sez Uncle Sam to me,  
“ I learnt that lesson pretty well  
    Beside my father's knee.  
So when Old England dared to ‘ press ’  
    Our sailors on the ocean,  
I got of fighting, I confess,  
    A very pretty notion.

## XLVII.

“ I was on the northern frontier  
    With Harrison and Scott;  
At the battle of Niagara  
    The work was rather hot.  
I charged with Colonel Miller,  
    Up Lundy's bloody lane,  
Where many a noble spirit  
    Of the gallant ‘ Fourth ’ was slain.

## XLVIII.

“ Hoarsely, amid the darkness,  
    Rang from Miller's lips ‘ I'll try ; ’  
‘ Fix bayonets, steady,—forward !  
    We'll take it, men, or die ! ”  
Like a living wall of fire . . .  
    Gleamed that battery in our eyes,  
Yet not a single musket  
    From our serried ranks replies. . . .

## XLIX.

“On! on! we mount the rampart,  
We sweep them from our path;  
What can oppose the valor  
Of a Yankee soldier's wrath!  
Ah! Jonathan, I tell ye,  
It's known to very few  
How Miller like a whirlwind  
Put those bragging red-coats through!

## L.

“And you remember Dick, my boy,  
Who left his home, to go  
Volunteering with brave Taylor  
To fight in Mexico.  
He was valiant as a lion,  
So all his comrades say;  
But he fell — 't was for his country,  
On the field of Monterey.

## LI.

“However, both his sword and belt  
His company brought back;  
At home we often weep for *him*,  
But we glory in ‘Old Zack;’  
His sword and belt are hanging  
With his father's gun, — and I  
Should like to see the money  
That that gun and sword could buy!

## LII.

"So Jonathan, I tell you,  
When you go down to York,  
Be sure you go and see Kossuth,  
And have with him a talk.  
Tell him I like him pretty well,  
And don't wish him any harm,  
And if he'll come to our town  
We'll give him here a farm."

## LIII.

So you see I've come to see you,—  
Darnation! what's that drumming  
Oh! here's a delegation  
Of Westerners a comin'.  
Hallo! they're walking in here;  
Stand back there—clear the way!  
I wonder what these Hoosier chaps  
Are goin' for to say.

## LIV.

Stranger, we've come to meet you  
More than a thousand miles,  
But we do n't care for the journey,  
Or the spending of our "piles;"  
For we know like General Jackson  
You're half hoss—half alligator,  
But we wish you'd brought us Gorgey,  
For we'd like to lynch the traitor.

## LV.

We were with that brave old hoss, sir,  
At the fight of New Orleans ;  
If you talk of blood and thunder,  
We know just what it means.  
We don't know what the government  
Will do, and we do n't care ;  
But if you fight in Hungary,  
Depend on 't " we are *thar*."

## LVI.

In the broad and fruitful valleys  
Of the wide and teeming West,  
We feel something more than sympathy  
For a nation that's opprest ;—  
So we go for intervention ;  
Those who fight *shall* have " fair play,"  
And we 'll help you with our rifles  
Keep the Russian Bear at bay.

## LVII.

We will come and bring our banner ;  
It shall float there o'er the free ;  
And the " double jointed " manner  
With which we strike for Liberty,  
Shall long confound the nations,  
But shall teach them still to feel  
That our hearts were born to glory  
In our common country's weal.

## LVIII.

We are strong now,—and we feel it,—  
The *World* is all our own —  
At our sovereign pleasure only,  
Every sovereign holds his throne.  
*We* are masters, we are rulers,  
There's none dare say us nay —  
From the frozen snows of Russia,  
To the island of Bombay!

## LIX.

We have come to tell these prudent  
Men you meet with about here,  
That they are now behind the times  
At least — about a year ;  
They are full of talk and wisdom,—  
Very knowing men, no doubt,—  
But to know the strength of Progress  
They must to the West come out!

## LX.

Come out, then, to our Western home,  
Your patriot sabre draw,  
Ten thousand hearts are beating  
To hear the sound of war ;  
Plant high upon some rocky hill  
This starry flag I hold,  
And your cry for help is answered  
By our valiant Hoosiers bold.



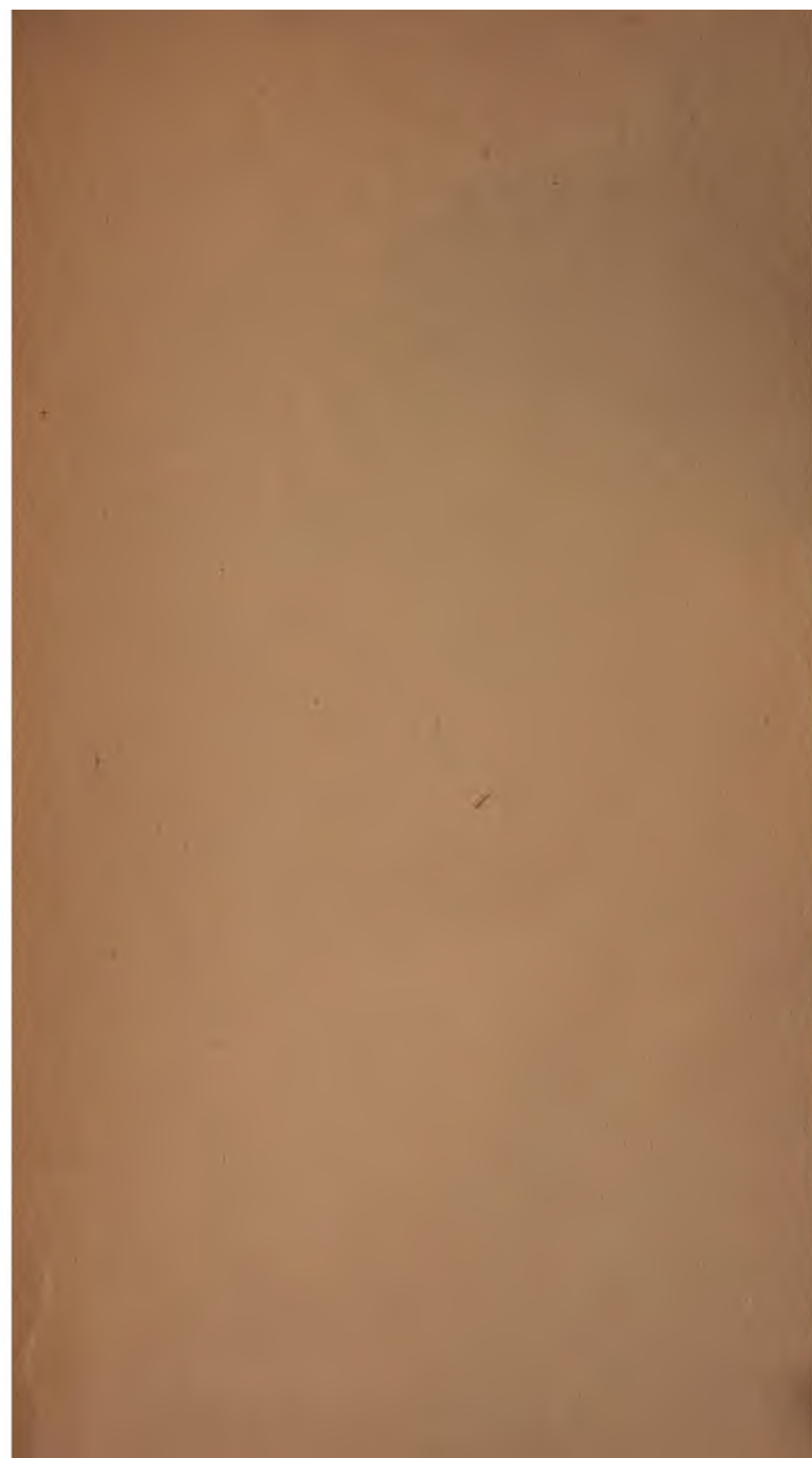
“’T is the star-spangled banner ;  
And long may it wave  
O’er the hearts of the free ”  
And the home of the brave.

[Chorus, in which Kossuth, waving the “ Stars  
and Stripes,” joins with the rest.]

“’T is the star-spangled banner ;  
And proudly ’t will wave  
As we march to the fight  
With the hearts of the brave.”

*Curtain Falls.*







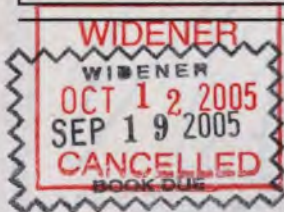


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